

A DESCRPTIVE GRAMMAR
OF SAEI:DI
EGYPTIAN COLLOQUIAL
ARABIC

by

ABDELGHANY A. KHALAFALLAH



1969

MOUTON

THE HAGUE • PARIS

© Copyright 1969 in The Netherlands.
Mouton & Co. N.V., Publishers, The Hague.

*No part of this book may be translated or reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm,
or any other means, without written permission from the publishers.*

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER: 68-17886

Printed in The Netherlands by Mouton & Co., Printers, The Hague.

PJ
6773
K5
1969

PREFACE

This study presents the first descriptive analysis of the structure of saʕi:di, the variety of Egyptian Arabic spoken by the inhabitants of the Nile Valley between Cairo and Aswan.

Besides the major purpose of describing the phonemics, morphemics and syntax of saʕi:di, it is hoped that this study would contribute to dialect studies of the varieties of Arabic spoken in Egypt, and to comparative studies of Arabic dialects.

I can hardly find adequate words to express how deep my appreciation is for those scholars at the University of Texas who, by training me thoroughly in structural linguistics, have helped in making this, the first descriptive grammar of saʕi:di, possible.

To Professor Walter Lehn of the University of Texas, I owe much of the most helpful suggestions.

I am profoundly grateful to Professor Archibald A. Hill, to whom I owe not only excellent counsel and instructive suggestion but also much of training in structural linguistics.

I am especially indebted to Professor Winfred P. Lehmann, whose encouragement, patience and wise criticism during my training as a linguist and all through this study, have helped me fare safely through the hazardous linguistic adventure of describing a language for the first time.

I am a student of the late Professor E. Bagby Atwood, whose loss was a blow to all who knew him. I owe much of my early orientation in linguistics to Professor Atwood. The warmth of his friendship is unquenchable in the stream of days.

To a great scholar from Brown University I owe much of the encouragement and help needed for the accomplishment of this work.

Cairo, May 1967

A. A. KHALAFALLAH

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	5
-------------------	---

PART I: PHONEMICS

Introduction	11
1. The Phonemes of saʕi:di	13
2. Suprasegmentals	15
3. saʕi:di Vocalic System	21
4. Consonants	25
5. Emphasis	27
6. Phonotactics	32
7. Morphophonemic Alternation	40

PART II: MORPHEMICS

8. saʕi:di Morphemic Segments	49
9. Form Classes in saʕi:di	51
10. Pronouns	76
11. Pronominals	77
12. Particles	79

PART III: SYNTAX

13. saʕi:di Syntactic Units	87
14. Types of saʕi:di Phrases	89

15. Types of safi:di Clauses	91
16. Major Sentence types in safi:di	92
17. Negation.	100
18. Interrogation	103
19. Sample safi:di Text	105
Appendix to Phonotactics	111

PART 1

PHONEMICS

2. A larger number of classicisms (e.g., /Púswa/ 'behavior model').
3. Quotations from Alqurʔa:n, Alḥadi:th, classical poetry and prose, spoken in accordance with the rules given by the classical grammarians.

Group 2 is characterized by:

1. The occurrence of the sequence /PiC₁C₂-, where the speech of group 1 has C₁C₂- (e.g., /Pibrá:m/ 'cooking pottery').
2. The occurrence of the sequence -C₁VC₂C₃- where group 1 has -C₁C₂C₃- (e.g., /Ṣánizhom/ 'their goat').
3. The occurrence of the sequence -C₁VC₂ where group 1 has -C₁C₂ (e.g., /rátēz/ 'trotting').
4. The virtually complete absence of classicisms.
5. Quotations from Alqurʔa:n, Alḥadi:th as well as classical poetry and prose are pronounced in accordance with everyday speech.

Group 1 and group 2 are social dialects, in contrast with the geographical dialects distinguished above. Further possible dialect classification is not pertinent here, and accordingly is not discussed.

0.2. SOURCES OF CORPUS

0.2.1. This study is based primarily upon the author's speech and that of his wife, both of whom belong to group 1 of southern saʕi:di. My wife comes from the village of Alṣukaliyyi, about eight miles north of my native village, Sizbet Pīlbu:sā, which is about 330 miles south of Cairo. She belongs to a family where saʕi:di is spoken and she spent her life up to the age of eighteen between Cairo and her native village.

Other saʕi:di informants from groups 1 and 2 were contacted in the field through trips to various parts of Upper Egypt during the collection of the corpus.

0.3. SIZE OF CORPUS

0.3.1. The corpus was collected over a period extending from 1958 to 1965 from my own speech and that of my wife, as well as that of other saʕi:di informants contacted in the field. It was collected by:

- a) Recordings of and notes on daily conversations and stories, as well as checking with my wife and other native informants on points where self-deception was suspected;
- (b) Exploring all mathematical possibilities of combinations of segmentals to expand the range of coverage of the corpus to the farthest possible limits.

1. THE PHONEMES OF saʕi:di

1.1. SEGMENTALS

1.1 1. *Consonants*

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
<i>Stops</i>									
voiceless			t			k			ʔ
voiced	b		d			g			
<i>Affricates</i>									
voiceless					č				
voiced					ǰ				
<i>Fricatives</i>									
voiceless		f		s	š		x	ħ	h
voiced				z			g	ʕ	
<i>Nasals</i>	m		n						
<i>Lateral</i>			l						
<i>Trill</i>				r					
<i>Semivowels</i>	w				y				

1.2.1. *Vowels*

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

1.2.2. *Co-vowels*

Length /:/; Emphasis /_/

1.3. SUPRASEGMENTALS

1.3.1. *Juncture*

Terminal junctures //, /\, /#/.

Internal juncture /+/.

1.3.2. *Stress*

Primary /'/; Non-primary /^/.

1.3.3. *Pitch*

/3/

/2/

/1/ lowest

2. SUPRASEGMENTALS

2.1. JUNCTURE

2.1.1. *Terminal junctures*

2.1.1.1. The segmental sequence /saʃado:/ can be spoken with any of the following pitch patterns:

- A. 1. The first syllable is spoken on a medium pitch which is maintained through the second syllable.
2. The third syllable is spoken on a higher pitch followed by a downglide to a lower pitch than that of the first two syllables, before silence. /²saʃa³dó:¹/, spoken in this manner, is a declarative statement: 'they helped him'.
- B. 1. The first two syllables are spoken on the same pitch as in A1.

2. The higher pitch of the third syllable glides upward before silence. /²saʃa³dó:³/, spoken in this manner, is a reiterated question: 'did they help him?'

2.1.1.2. Comparing the two pitch patterns of /saʃado:/ described above we find:

1. The pitch on the third syllable in pattern A gradually moves downward and gradually fades.
2. The pitch on the third syllable in pattern B moves upward and abruptly stops.

The downturn and upturn of pitch described above form a contrast which will be symbolized: A /#/, B /||/.

2.1.1.3. In the utterance:

/ʔadahu: galamak taʃa xudu/

1. /ʔada/ may be spoken on medium pitch, /hu:/ on high pitch, and /-mak/ on medium pitch.
2. The medium level is maintained through /taʃa/.
3. Between the end of /galamak/ and the beginning of /taʃa/ there is a ritardando without tonal glide.
4. /xudu/ is spoken with high pitch on the first syllable and a gradual downglide of pitch on the second syllable before silence.

The ritardando without tonal glide described in 3 signals a third *saʃi:di* juncture which will be symbolized by *//*.

2.1.1.4. Each of the three junctures appears to prolong the immediately preceding sound(s) in varying degrees. */ʃ/* co-occurs with silence; *//* and */||* may or may not co-occur with silence.

2.1.2. Internal juncture

2.1.2.1. The following pairs of utterances are differentiated by contrast between "sharp" and "smooth" transition between the underlined segments:

<i>Sharp Transition</i>	<i>Smooth Transition</i>
Ia / ² <u>dár</u> + ¹ <u>bey</u> #/	Ib / ² <u>dár</u> ³ <u>bey</u> ¹ #/
IIa / ² <u>xád</u> + ¹ <u>šey</u> #/	IIb / ² <u>xád</u> ³ <u>šey</u> ¹ #/

Meanings:

Ia 'he harmed me'	Ib 'my street'
IIa 'he took something'	IIb 'he did not take'

2.1.2.2. Phonetic allophones of */+/* in *saʃi:di*. Length of the syllable immediately before */+/*, realized primarily in the consonants.

2.1.2.3. A minimal pair involving variant position of */+/* is:

² / mišabú: + ³¹ naǰá: /	'didn't his father speak gently to him?'
² / mišabú: na + ³¹ ǰá: /	'didn't our father come to him?'

2.2. DEFINITIONS

2.2.1. *Macrosegment* — a segment of speech between silence and a subsequent terminal juncture, or between two terminal junctures.

2.2.2. *Microsegment* — a segment of speech between two internal junctures, or a preceding internal juncture and a subsequent terminal juncture, or a terminal and a following internal juncture.

2.2.3. *Syllable* — the minimum syllable in *saʃi:di* is CV, the maximum: CCVCC or CCV:C.

2.2.4. *Syllable boundaries* — (1) the occurrence of a juncture always indicates the beginning of a syllable; (2) in the absence of juncture syllable boundaries are pre-

dictable in terms of the constituent segmental phonemes of the microsegment in accordance with the following rules:

- (a) In a sequence of two consonants, either C_1C_2 or C_1C_1 not followed by a juncture, the syllable boundary falls between the two consonants.
- (b) In a sequence of three consonants not immediately followed by a juncture, the syllable boundary falls between the second and third consonants.
- (c) A sequence of two consonants immediately followed by a juncture goes with the preceding vowel.

2.3. STRESS

2.3.1. In the following two groups of items:

A	B
/Pájal/ 'date' or 'end of life'	/Paǰál/ 'greater'
/sábat/ 'basket'	/sabát/ 'I kept still'

the first syllable in items A is more prominent than the second, whereas the second syllable in items B is more prominent. These and other minimal pairs in *saʃi:di* make it necessary to recognize a phoneme /'/ which may be referred to as 'primary stress'.

2.3.2. The weaker grade of stress in items A and B above will be referred to as "non-primary stress" and symbolized by /[^]/.

2.3.2.1. I distinguish five phonetic degrees of stress in *saʃi:di* [¹ [^] [˘] [˙]] macrosegmental primary, primary, secondary, tertiary and weak, in descending rank.

2.3.3. The primary stress has the following allophones:

[¹] — maximum prominence, co-occurs with macrosegmental pitch-peak.

[[˘]] — marks syllables in the macrosegment which bear primary stress in citation forms.

2.3.4. The non-primary stress — unmarked in phonemic transcription in this study — has the following allophones:

[[^]] — maximum prominence of the non-primary stress, marks syllables of the structure CVCC, CCVC, CCVCC, unmarked by primary stress in bisyllabic and multisyllabic microsegments.

[[˘]] — marks post-junctural syllables of the structure CV, CVC, CCV and pre-junctural syllables of the structure CV, CVC in bisyllabic and multisyllabic microsegments.

[[˙]] — marks syllables of the structure CV, CVC, immediately before or after the syllable with the primary stress in multisyllabic microsegments, as well as the definite article /*Pil-*/ in post-junctural position.

2.3.5. The position of stress in the microsegment. With the exception of 49 minimal pairs in the corpus, stress in the microsegment falls on:

- (1) A long vowel (no microsegment has more than one long vowel); if none, then
- (2) On the last VCC; if neither (1) nor (2) occurs, then
- (3) On the first syllable.

Examples:

- (1) /xalagá:tu/ 'his clothes'
- (2) /masáktu/ 'I caught him'
- (3) /kátab/ 'he wrote'
- /kátabow/ 'they wrote'
- /kátabatu/ 'she wrote it (m.)'¹
- /lbáladu/ 'to his native town'

2.3.6. Geminates (within the microsegment) resulting from the assimilation of /l/ of the definite article /ʔil-/ or /t/ of the verbal prefixes /tit-/ , /ʔit-/ , /nit-/ , /yit-/ to a following consonant do not affect position of stress in the microsegment to which /ʔil-/ or any of the verbal prefixes mentioned above is added. Examples:

- /ʔissámaki/ : (/ʔilsamaki/) 'the fish'
- /ʔissáħabat/ : (/ʔitsáħabat/) 'it (f.) was drawn away'

2.4. PITCH

2.4.1. A sǝʃi:di monosyllabic utterance such as /ʔá:/ 'yes', can be spoken in several ways depending on the accompanying terminal juncture. If the accompanying terminal is /#/ , /ʔá:/ can be spoken in a low register of voice with no particular impression of either medium or high pitch and with the down turn connected with /#/ . This

low pitch may be referred to as pitch /1/. When /¹¹¹ʔá: #/ is spoken in this way, it expresses desire to hear more of what is said, or that what is heard is agreed to.

2.4.2. /ʔá:/ may also be spoken on a noticeably high register of voice with either the upturn connected with /||/ : /³³³ʔá: ||/ , which is spoken usually as a question asking

repetition of an utterance, or the downturn connected with /#/ : /²³¹ʔá: #/ , which is an answer in the affirmative to a question. This high pitch may be referred to as pitch /3/.

2.4.3. /ʔá:/ may be spoken on a pitch that is neither as low as /1/ nor as high as /3/. This medium pitch may be referred to as pitch /2/ : /²²²ʔá: | ²³¹jǝ #/ 'Yes! he came'.

2.4.4. The three relative pitch levels will be referred to as:

high /3/ mid /2/ low /1/

¹ The following abbreviations will be used through this study: m. = masculine; f. = feminine; m.s. = masculine singular; f.s. = feminine singular; d. = dual; pl. = plural.

2.4.5. Within the limitation of three pitch phonemes, there are 27 theoretical possible sequences. But the pitch sequences that actually occur are given in the following table which also shows the tactical behavior of the pitch phonemes:

Initial	Medial	Final
1	1	1
	2	1
	2	2
	3	1
	3	2
	3	3
2	2	2
	3	1
	3	2
	3	3
3	3	3

2.4.6. Types of intonation contours. The sequences attested may be classified into general types:

- (1) Level intonation: /111/, /222/, /333/
- (2) Rising-sustaining intonation: /122/, /133/, /233/.
- (3) Rising-returning intonation: /121/, /131/, /232/.
- (4) Rising-falling intonation: /132/, /231/.

2.4.7. The domain of the intonation contour is the macrosegment. Within the macrosegment, every syllable, except the first and the last which may be spoken on two pitches, is spoken on a definite pitch.

2.4.8. Examples of the intonation contours:

Pattern

1. Level

/ ¹zé:¹ni ¹#/ 'good (f.)' — resigned comment

2. / ²ʔáma:²r // ² 'did he order?' — question expressing mild surprise.

3. / ³gát:³³tó: // 'did they rob him?' — question expressing amazement

2. Rising-sustaining

1. / ¹fissiyyá:²li² // 'in the pocket?' (yes/no question)
2. / ¹yasá:³ter³ // 'form expressing hope (for safety)
3. / ²naššafáthi³ // 'did she dry it (f.)?' (echo question)

3. Rising-returning

1. / ¹hayíwsal² rád¹ #/ 'an answer will come'
2. / ¹Pittá:³men¹ jí¹ #/ 'the eighth has arrived' (emphatic statement)
3. / ²wé:n³ #/ 'where?'
4. / ¹yá³sá:mey² #/ 'Samey!' — vocative

4. Rising-falling

1. / ²Pilláma³ júwwa¹ #/ 'the crowd is inside'
2. / ²Piśmílha³ kdí¹ #/ 'do (m.s.) it (f.) this way!' (mild command)
3. / ²Iwád³ makatábšey¹ #/ 'the boy did not write'

2.4.9. Expanded pitch sequences. Only two pitch sequences occur in expanded forms: /231/ may be expanded into /1231/, /132/ into /1321/.

Conditioning factors:

1. In /1231/, the occurrence of an initial syllable marked by [∪] (e.g., [¹Piśšilá:²n³lxádrā¹ #/ 'the green scarfs').
2. In /1321/ and /1231/, length of the utterance and number of intervening syllables.

/ ¹maššaggá:³la nágalu talalí:s² lgállā¹ hní¹ #/
'it was the workers who moved the grain sacks here'

/ ¹maká:²nu jabadó:ha labárrā³ #/
'they must have pushed it (f.) outside'

3. THE saʒi:di VOCALIC SYSTEM

3.1.

3.1.1. The saʒi:di vocalic system comprises 20 minimally contrastive vocalic nuclei: 5 short non-emphatic, 5 short emphatic, 5 long non-emphatic, and 5 long emphatic.

3.1.2. There are several phonemic interpretations possible:

- (1) To set up 20 vowel phonemes.
- (2) To set up 5 short non-emphatic, 5 short emphatic vowel phonemes and a phoneme of length.
- (3) To set up 5 short non-emphatic vowel phonemes, a phoneme of length and a phoneme of emphasis.

3.1.3. The uneconomical nature of solutions (1) and (2) is obvious. Solution (2) assumes that the vowel is either emphatic or non-emphatic, thus bypassing the problems of classification and simultaneity or succession of emphasis. The writer's preference is for solution (3).

Solution (3) sets up 7 phonemes [for 20 in (1) and 12 in (2)]. Length will be classified as a co-vowel occurring sequentially only in post-vocalic position /:/, emphasis as a co-vowel occurring simultaneously with syllabic nucleus /_/.

3.1.4. The following diacritical marks, used throughout this study, will be used in describing the allophones of vowel phonemes:

- V = any vowel
- Ṽ = unusually short
- V: = vowel occurring before length
- Ṳ = vowel co-occurring with emphasis
- Ṳ: = vowel occurring before length and co-occurring with emphasis
- Ṳ̄ = tense
- Ṳ̄̄ = lax
- V< = fronted
- V> = backed

- V^{\wedge} = raised
 V^{\vee} = lowered
 \tilde{V} = nasalized
 \underline{V} = unstressed vowel (V : is always stressed)
 $\underline{V}-\text{ }^{\text{L}}-\text{ }$ = pre-stress syllable
 $-\text{ }^{\text{L}}-\underline{V}-\text{ }$ = post-stress syllable
 C = any consonant
 S = any stop other than velar
 $\$$ = velar stop
 F = any labial or alveolar fricative
 F = any fricative other than F
 N = nasal
 R = resonant
 $\#$ = juncture (+ = internal juncture)
 $(+)$ = syllable boundary
 $\&$ = in free variation with
 \sim = or

For convenience, the terms “short vowel”, “long vowel”, “short emphatic vowel”, “long emphatic vowel”, will be used for V , $V:$, \underline{V} , $\underline{V}:$.

3.2. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS

3.2.1. The co-vowel of length has an extra long allophone $[\text{ }^{\text{L}}:]$ in the environment $V:\#$ (e.g., $[\text{só:}]$ ‘a game of sticks’, shorter allophone $[\text{ }^{\text{L}}]$ in the environments $V:+$ (e.g., $[\text{já}^{\text{L}}+\text{xámsi}]$ ‘he got five’ and $V:C(+)$ (e.g., $[\text{xá}^{\text{L}}\text{ltu}]$ ‘his aunt’, $[\text{ }^{\text{L}}:]$ elsewhere.

3.2.2. The co-vowel of emphasis has different allophones with different vowels (see 5.1 below).

3.2.3. Emphasis spreads allophonically within, as well as across, syllable boundaries in accordance with a fixed set of rules (see 5.6.1).

3.2.4. All vowels have allophones of the type \underline{V} when they occur before $/\text{:}/$ and/or with $/\text{ }^{\text{L}}/$, V^{\vee} after front consonants and V^{\wedge} after back consonants, of the type \tilde{V} in the environment $N\tilde{V}N$, \tilde{V} in the environments $-\text{ }^{\text{L}}-\text{ }^{\text{L}}-\underline{V}+$, $-\text{ }^{\text{L}}-\underline{V}\#$, $\underline{V}(+)\text{ }^{\text{L}}-\text{ }^{\text{L}}-$, and V^{\vee} (except $/a/$) with low pitch. $/a/$ has an allophone of the type V^{\vee} with high pitch.

3.2.5. Specific allophones of $\text{sə}^{\text{L}}\text{fi:di}$ vowels. The following are the specific allophones of short and long $\text{sə}^{\text{L}}\text{fi:di}$ vowels:

Phoneme	Allophone	Environment	Example
/i/	[i ^v]	YC+	/šúɡlit+dí/ 'this (m.) one's property'
		YCC(+)- ˩	/birktákšey/ 'not your (m.s.) pond'
	[I [^]]	V:≠	/bí:/ 'with him/it (m.)'
		FV̆F(+)	/fízzey/ 'get up! (f.s.)'
		FYCC(+)- ˩ -	/šillté:n/ 'two problems'
	[I ^{v>}]	FV:N(+)	/hí:nni/ 'our end'
		NV:N≠	/mí:n/ 'who?'
	[i] }		
	[I:] }	elsewhere	
	[ě [^]]	Y(C)(+)- ˩ -	/jebé:n/ 'two pockets'
/e/			/melté:n/ 'two bows'
		- ˩ -YC≠	/wé:nek/ 'where are you (f.s.)?'
	[e ^v]	FV̆F	/séf/ 'swallow (m.s.)!'
		ŠYC	/kéd/ 'work (m.s.) hard!'
	[E [^]]	CV:(C)(+)	/zé:tu/ 'his oil'
			/zé:tni/ 'our oil'
		V:C≠	/badé:t/ 'I started'
	[e] }		
	[E:] }	elsewhere	
	[Ǽ ^{>}]	V:≠	/já:/ 'he came to him'
/a/	[a]	CYC(+)	/nátši/ 'a lie'
		SVS≠	/bát/ 'he cut'
		FYC(+)- ˩ -	/šallámt/ 'I taught'
	[a ^{>}]	RVN≠	/nám/ 'he betrayed'
		RVF≠	/nách/ 'he bent down'
	[a ^{<}] }		
	[Ǽ:] }	elsewhere	
	[ǔ]	Y(C)(+)	/šúfey/ 'look (f.s.)!'
			/šúftu/ 'I saw him/it (m.)!'
	[ǔ [^]]	Y- ˩ -	/kulú:/ 'eat (pl.) it (m.)!'
/u/		- ˩ -Y	/dalí:lu/ 'his proof'
	[U]	V:≠	/gítú:/ 'save (pl.) him'
	[ǔ ^v]	FV̆F(+)- ˩ -	/huzná:/ 'we kept it (m.)'
		FV̆F(+)- ˩ -	/susná:/ 'we appeased him'
	[u] }		
	[u ^v :] }		
	[Ω]	elsewhere	
		V:≠	/só:/ 'a game of sticks'
		YCC≠	/tóbt/ 'I abstained'
	[Ǫ]	- ˩ -(+)SYC	/túgol/ 'weight'
/o/		ŠY- ˩ -	/komé:n/ 'two heaps'
		FY- ˩ -	/hošé:n/ 'two courtyards'

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Allophone</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Example</i>
	[ə^]	RV:C#	/lɔ:n/ 'color'
	[o]		
	[ə:]	elsewhere	

4. CONSONANTS

4.1. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION OF CONSONANTS¹

4.1.1. All consonants have fortis allophones in post-junctural position before stressed vowels.

4.1.2. All consonants have lenis allophones in the environments $\check{V}C\#$, $\acute{V}C\#$.

4.1.3. Stops, voiceless and voiced, are released prejuncturally after stressed vowels, released or unreleased in the environment $\check{V}C\#$.

4.1.4. Before front vowels: (1) /č ʝ š y/ have pre-palatal allophones; (2) /k g/ have post-palatal allophones.

4.1.5. Before back vowels: (1) /t d n l/ have post-dental allophones; (2) /s z r/ have post-alveolar allophones.

4.1.6. Stops and fricatives are aspirated or unaspirated, in free variation, in post-junctural position before stressed vowels. Fricatives and resonants have the allophone $C\cdot$ in the environments $V:C\#$, $\acute{V}C\#$.

4.1.7. *Stops*

- (1) Have allophones of the type \hat{C} in the environment $\acute{V}C\#$.
- (2) Voiced stops have the allophones $\underset{\cdot}{C}$ & $\underset{\cdot}{C}$ before voiceless consonants.
- (3) Voiceless stops have the allophones $\underset{\cdot}{C}$ & $\underset{\cdot}{C}$ before voiced stops.

4.1.8. *Affricates*. /ʃ/ has the allophone $\underset{\cdot}{C}$ before voiceless stops, $\underset{\cdot}{C}$ & $\underset{\cdot}{C}$ before voiceless fricatives.

4.1.9. *Fricatives*

- (1) have the allophone $C\cdot$ in the environment $\acute{V}C\#$.

¹ The same symbols used in the description of vowels are used with the addition of the following:
—: indicates position in a cluster; C : extra short; $\underset{\cdot}{C}$: long; $\underset{\cdot}{C}$: voiced; $C\cdot$: voiceless.

(2) Voiceless fricatives have the allophones ç & ç before voiced stops and voiced fricatives.

(3) Voiced fricatives have the allophone ç before voiceless stops and voiceless fricatives.

4.1.2.0. *Resonants.* /m n l r/ have the allophone ç in the environment $\text{Vç-}\#$.

4.2.

The following are specific allophonic distributions not covered by the above observations:

- (1) /m/ has the labiodental allophone [m̥] before /f/ (e.g., /mfátteš/ 'inspector').
- (2) /n/ has the velar allophone [ŋ] before /k g x ɣ/ (e.g., /yúngol/ 'he copies', /yúnxol/ 'he sifts (powder)').
- (3) /w/ has the allophone [u] in post-junctural preconsonantal position (e.g., /wká:li/ 'inn').

5. EMPHASIS

5.1. ARTICULATORY CORRELATES

- (1) *With vowels* — pharyngeal striction and:
 - (a) Front and back vowels: lowering of the tongue.
 - (b) Front vowels: retraction of the tongue.
 - (c) Back vowels: protraction of the tongue.
 - (d) /a/: wider lip orifice.
- (2) *With consonants* — pharyngeal striction and:
 - (a) Dentals, alveolars: velarization.
 - (b) Dentals: denti-alveolar point of articulation.
 - (c) /t/: glottalization (the allophone [t̚]).
 - (d) Palatals, velars, uvulars, pharyngeals: broadening of the tongue at closure point.

5.2. POSSIBLE PHONEMIC INTERPRETATIONS

- (1) Doubling the number of consonant phonemes: 23 non-emphatic + 23 emphatic
- (2) Doubling the number of vowels: 5 non-emphatic + 5 emphatic.
- (3) 23 non-emphatic consonant phonemes + 4 emphatic consonant phonemes /t d s z/ + 1 emphatic vowel /a/.
- (4) Emphasis as a prosodeme or a long component: E-----/ or /____/.
- (5) Positing a phoneme of emphasis simultaneous with consonants.
- (6) Positing a phoneme of emphasis simultaneous with vowels.

Interpretations 1, 2 and 3 are obviously uneconomic. "Prosodeme" is a vague term, and to treat emphasis as a phonemic long component involves difficulty in setting up rules to define its domain. Interpretations 5 and 6 are equally economical, but such structural facts as emphatic vowel harmony in saʃi:di weigh in favor of 6.

5.3. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPHATIC ALLOPHONES OF saʃi:di VOWELS

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Allophone</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Example</i>	
/i/	[i̠]	ȲRC(+)	/t̪irt̪lu/	'you (m.s.) soak it (m.) with water'

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Allophone</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Example</i>
	[iʷ]	- ʌ - V#	/sɪrfi/ 'altogether (f.s.)'
		V(C)(+)- ʌ -	/sɪwá:n/ 'pavilion'
	[iʷ]	V:#	/Paɾadí:/ 'his lands'
		V:R(+)	/sɪ:rtu/ 'his small fish'
		FV̆F(+)- ʌ -	/gɪzná:/ 'we angered him'
	[iʷ]	elsewhere	
	[i:]		
/e/	[E<]	V̆#	/té/ 'indeed'
	[Ē<]	V̆C#	/téb/ 'medicine'
	[E<]	V:#/	/sarré:/ 'what did he pack?'
		FV:C(+)	/gé:thom/ 'their field'
	[əʷ]	V̆(+)- ʌ -	/teré:n/ 'two birds'
	[E>]	elsewhere	
	[E>:]		
/a/	[a]	FV:#	/saħhâ:/ 'he waked him'
		FV:C(+)	/xá:ffa/ 'healing (f.s.)'
	[Ǻ]	- ʌ - V̆F#	/bátah/ 'he hurt the head'
		FV̆(+)- ʌ -	/ħasárt/ 'I counted'
		FV̆S#	/xát/ 'line'
		SV̆F#	/táx/ 'he fired'
	[a]	elsewhere	
	[a<:]		
/u/	[ũ<]	V+	/rúbba + zé:n/ 'mix it (m.) well!'
		V̆CC(+)	/rúbba/ 'mix (m.s.) for him!'
		RV̆F(+)	/lúsna/ 'we got confused'
	[U<]	V:#	/xattitú:/ 'line (pl.) it (m.)!'
		RV̆:(+)	/ru:su/ 'his sheep'
	[U<]	FV̆F(+)	/zúgni/ 'we disappeared'
	[U<]	elsewhere	
	[U<:]		
/o/	[Ō<]	RV̆C#	/mót/ 'stretch (m.s.)!'
	[ō<]	FV̆C#	/xót/ 'neighbourhood'
		FV̆(+)- ʌ -	/ħodé:n/ 'two basins'
		ʌ -(+)SV̆C#	/xúdor/ 'green' (pl.)
	[ω<] & [ɒ<]	FV:#	/baggó:/ 'they tricked him'
		NV̆:F(+)	/nó:ħħa/ 'her mourning'
	[ō<]	elsewhere	
	[ω<:]		

5.4. DISTRIBUTION OF THE EMPHATIC ALLOPHONES OF saʕi:di CONSONANTS

saʕi:di consonants have emphatic allophones in the following environments (Y = any emphatic vowel):

- CY, YC (e.g., [sáɾ] 'he packed', /sáɾ/)
 -CY, C-Y (e.g., [brób] 'perhaps', /brób/)
 YC-, Y-C (e.g., [dáɾb] 'path', /dáɾb/)

5.5. EMPHATIC ALLOPHONES OF /t/

The saʕi:di phoneme /t/ has two emphatic allophones which require special treatment:

- [t] denti-alveolar
 [t̤] denti-alveolar, glottalized

[t] and [t̤] are in complementary distribution in the following environments: ([s], [z]: emphatic allophones of /s/ and /z/):

<i>Allophone</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Example</i>
[t]	-sY	[tsá:b] 'he was hurt', /tsá:b/
	-zY	[tzám] 'it (m.) was tightened', /tzám/
	YZ-#	[géz̤t̤] 'I annoyed', /géz̤t̤/
	YZ(+)-	[búztow] 'you (pl.) became spoiled' /búztow/
[t̤]	tY(C)#	[t̤á] 'O.K.', /t̤á/
	Y-(+)s	[ʕát̤su] 'his coughing', /ʕát̤su/
	Y-(+)z	[rát̤zu] 'his trotting' /rát̤zu/
	Y-z#	[rát̤z̤] 'trotting', /rát̤z̤/

On the basis of the over-all distribution of [t] and [t̤] in my corpus, the following observations may be made:

- (1) [t̤] and [t] are partially in complementary distribution.
 - (2) Wherever [t̤] occurs — even in the environments mentioned above — it can be replaced by [t] without the least distortion of speech.
 - (3) A saʕi:di speaker uses [t̤] in all environments in certain social circumstances (e.g., speaking to Lower Egyptians). If in the same circumstances he uses [t] it will be with the purpose of showing that he is saʕi:di.
- [t̤] then is a stylistic allophone of /t/.

5.6. THE DOMAIN OF EMPHASIS

Emphasis has two distinct domains of spread: domain 1: the syllable; domain 2: the morphological word (stem + maximum number of bound forms).

5.6.1. Rules for the spreading of emphasis within the syllable:

(1) Consonants occurring post-juncturally or medially in syllables with emphatic nuclei have emphatic allophones.

(2) Consonants occurring post-vocally (or in position 2 in a final cluster) before a major juncture, in syllables with emphatic nuclei, have emphatic, partially or completely de-emphasized allophones, in free variation.

5.6.2. Emphasis across syllabic boundary

(1) At the loss of internal juncture in the environment $\bar{V}C+CV$, if the resulting cluster is of the type $-C_1C_1-$ (i.e., a geminate), it includes an emphatic coda followed by a partially emphatic onset (e.g., $[\underline{g}a\underline{d}+di] > [\underline{g}a\underline{d}di]$, $/\underline{g}a\underline{d}di/$ 'he cut this (m.)'. If the resulting cluster is of the type $-C_1C_2-$, both coda and onset are non-emphatic (e.g., $[\underline{r}a:s+di:k] > [\underline{r}asdi:k]$, $/\underline{r}asdi:k/$ 'that (f.) one's head'.

(2) At the loss of internal juncture in the environment $VC+CV$, if the resulting cluster is a geminate, both coda and onset are emphatic (e.g., $[\underline{x}a\underline{d}+\underline{d}a\underline{r}b\underline{a}][\underline{x}a\underline{d}d\underline{a}r\underline{b}a]$, $/\underline{x}a\underline{d}d\underline{a}r\underline{b}a/$ 'he took a blow'. If the resulting cluster is of the type $-C_1C_2-$, the coda is emphatic $[\underline{x}a\underline{m}a\underline{s}+\underline{r}u:s]$, $[\underline{x}a\underline{m}a\underline{s}r\underline{u}:s]$, $/\underline{x}a\underline{m}a\underline{s}r\underline{u}:s/$ 'five heads'—

5.7. STYLISTIC DE-EMPHASIS

(1) Pre-junctural consonants may be stylistically de-emphasized (e.g., $[\underline{m}d\underline{a}:d]$, $/\underline{m}d\underline{a}:d/$ 'opposing' (m.s.).

(2) Qurʾānic and literary quotations, as well as certain classicisms, used in $\underline{s}a\underline{s}i:di$, are articulated, insofar as emphasis is concerned, with various degrees of conformity with a set of pertinent rules in the studies of classical Arab grammarians. Example:

'walāw ʔānsafa lhussá:du yāwman'
 /walāw ʔānsafa lhussá:du yāwman/
 'If only the envious were fair one day...'
 (from a line of verse by ʔalbuḥturi, 204-284 Hijri)
 Classical /ʔānsaf/ = $\underline{s}a\underline{s}i:di$ /ʔānsaf/ 'he was fair'.

5.8. EMPHATIC VOWEL HARMONY

Emphatic vowel harmony is the phenomenon of spreading of emphasis within the morphological word according to the following rules.

(1) Segmental morphemes prefixed to noun stems (e.g., $/ʔil-/$), adjective stems (e.g., $/ʔa-/$), and verb stems (e.g., $/yu-/$), select emphatic allomorphs when prefixed to emphatic or partially emphatic stems.¹ Examples:

¹ "Emphatic stem" = stem with emphasis co-occurring with its vowel nucleus or nuclei; "partially emphatic stem" = stem with initial syllable having emphatic vowel nucleus.

/Pissájara/ 'the tree'
 /Pásǵar/ 'smaller'
 /yúxbot/ 'hits (3.m.s.)'

(2) Segmental morphemes suffixed to noun stems (e.g., /-a/ allomorph of the feminine morpheme), adjective stems (e.g., /-i:n/ plural morpheme), and verb stems (e.g., /-hom/ 3.pl. non-subject pronoun), select emphatic allomorphs when suffixed to emphatic stems. Examples:

/xádra/ 'green (f.s.)'
 /hīrsī:n/ 'cautious (pl.)'
 /hārāshom/ 'he guarded them'

(3) Exceptions to rules of spreading of emphatic vowel harmony are stylistically conditioned, for they are conscious attempts to conform to Classical Arabic pronunciation.

6. PHONOTACTICS

6.1. DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS WITH VOWELS

saʃi:di vowels: (1) do not cluster with themselves; (2) occur as syllabic nuclei with or without /:/ and/or /_/.

6.2. LIMITATIONS ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS

(1) /i i u u/ do not occur in monosyllabic microsegments (with the exception of the negative particle (/míš/)).

(2) In microsegments of the structure CV̌, /i/ occurs in three items: /bí/ form used to call a girl, /dí/ 'this' (m.s.), /jí/ 'he came'.

/e/ occurs in one item: /tɛ/ 'indeed'.

/a/ in one item: /lá/ 'No!'

/ǎ/ in four items: /bǎ/ a form expressing wonder, /xǎ/ 'take (2.m.s.)', /wǎ/ form expressing disagreement, /tǎ/ 'O.K.'

/u/ in one item: /šú/ 'look' (2.m.s.).

(3) Only /i i ǎ u u/ occur in the environment - ǎ - CV̌#. Examples:

/hábli/ 'foolish (f.s.)'

/bǎsǎli/ 'onion'

/kǎsrǎ/ 'robbery'

/háblu/ 'his rope'

/gǎrasu/ 'he pinched him'

(4) Vowels with /:/ and /-/ do not occur in microsegments of the structure CV̌. Vowels with /:/ or with /:/ and /-/ do not occur in microsegments of the structure CVCC, CCVCC or in the environment --- VCC(+)C-.

6.3. DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS WITH CONSONANTS

(1) In post-junctural syllables, vowels occur preceded by a minimum of one and a maximum of two consonants.

- (2) In medial syllables, vowels occur preceded by one consonant.
- (3) In medial and pre-junctural syllables, vowels occur followed by two, one or no consonant.
- (4) Syllables with long vowels as their nuclei are closed by single consonants.
- (5) The following syllable types accordingly occur: CV CVC CCV CCVC CCVCC
CV: CCV: CV:C CCV:C.
- (6) Syllables with long vowels (emphatic or non-emphatic) as their nuclei are always stressed. Syllables with short vowels (emphatic or non-emphatic) as their nuclei occur stressed or unstressed.
- (7) Syllables beginning with clusters of two consonants occur only initially in a microsegment.
- (8) Long vowels occur before and/or after geminates, short vowels occur stressed or unstressed medially before and/or after geminates in the microsegment (in which geminates occur only medially).
- (9) Any consonant may occur before or after any long vowel. /ʔ/ occurs in the environment CV:ʃ in two items: /ʔá:/ 'Yes!', /ʔé:/ 'what'. /č/ occurs initially in the environment CV:Cʃ in one item, /čé:š/ 'clumsy' (m.s.). /ʔ/ and /č/ do not occur in the environment V:Cʃ.
- (10) Any consonant may occur before or after any short vowel, stressed or unstressed. In the environment VCʃ /ʔ/ does not occur, /č/ occurs in one item /háč/ 'lying'.

6.4. DISTRIBUTION OF /w/ AND /y/ IN TERMS OF OCCURRENCE WITH STRESSED VOWELS, PRE-STRESS VOWELS, AND POST-STRESS VOWELS

- (1) Occurrence of /w/ and /y/ with stressed vowels:
 - (a) in the environment VCʃ
 - /w/ and /y/ occur after /e a a: ǣ/,
 - /w/ after /ǣ:/, /y/ after /o: ɐ/;
 - (b) in the environment VC(+)
 - (c) in the environment V(+)C
 - (d) in the environment CV (post-juncturally):
- (2) Occurrence of /w/ and /y/ with pre-stress vowels:
 - (a) in the environment VC(+)- ʔ -
 - (b) in the environment V(+)C- ʔ -

- (c) in the environment CV- $\bar{_}$ (post-juncturally)

/w/ and /y/ occur before /i a u $\bar{_}$ /,

/w/ before /e i $\bar{_}$ /, /y/ before /u $\bar{_}$ /.

- (3) Occurrence of /w/ and /y/ with post-stress vowels:

/w/: occurs pre-juncturally after /o $\bar{_}$ /, and in the sequences (emphatic or non-emphatic):

/-wa/ /-wu/

/-wek/ /-wey/ /-wak/

/y/: occurs pre-juncturally after /e $\bar{_}$ /, and in the sequences (emphatic or non-emphatic):

/-yi/ /-yu/

/-yek/ /-yey/ /-yak/

6.5. saʃi:di CONSONANT CLUSTERS

- (1) saʃi:di consonants cluster initially in post-junctural, pre-vocalic position, medially in inter-vocalic position, finally in post-vocalic pre-junctural position.

(2) Initial and final clusters have a maximum membership of two consonants. Medial clusters consist maximally of three consonants.

- (3) Patterns of consonant clusters:

initial: C₁C₂-

medial: -C₁C₁-, -C₁C₂-, -C₁C₁C₂-, C₁C₂C₃

final: -C₁C₂.

6.6. GEMINATES

- (1) saʃi:di consonants geminate intervocalically

- (a) before and after long vowels as well as stressed or unstressed short vowels.

Examples:

/naggá:hi/ 'he selected it (f.)',

/lá:ffi/ 'curving (f.)';

/náʃjat/ 'she talked much',

/naʃʃálhi/ 'he robbed her'.

- (b) after stressed or unstressed short vowels, in the environment -C₁C₁(+)-C₂-.

Examples:

/hássl̥/ 'catch (m.s.) him!'

/hássl̥̥:h̥om/ 'catch (pl.) them!'

TABLE I
Initial Consonant Clusters: C₁C₂-

C ₂	t	k	p	f	s	š	č	x	h	b	d	g	z	j	ǰ	r	w	y
t	tk		tʔ	tf	ts	tš		tx	th	tb		tg	tz	tj	tǰ	tr	tw	ty
k	kt			kf	ks				kh	kb	kd					kr	kw	ky
p			fʔ		fs	fš		fx	fh	fb	fd	fg	fz	fj	fǰ	fr	fw	fy
f	ft	fk		sf				sx	sh	sb	sd	sg		sj		sr	sw	sy
s	st		ʃʔ	ʃf					śh	śb	śd	śg				śr	św	śy
š	št	šk																
č																		
x			xf	xf	xs	xš					xd	xg	xz	xj	xǰ	xr	xy	
h	ht	hk		hf	hs			hx	hh	hb	hd	hg	hz	hj	hǰ	hr	hy	
b	bt	bk		bf	bs	bš		bx	bh	db	bd	bg	bz	bj	bǰ	br	bw	by
d	dt	dk		df	ds	dš			dh	gb	gd					dr	dw	dy
g	gt			gf	gs							zg				gr	gw	gy
z			zf	zs						jb						jr	zw	
j			jf	js		ǰš		jh				ǰg	ǰz	ǰj	ǰǰ	ǰr	ǰw	ǰy
ǰ			ǰf	ǰs	ǰš	ǰš				ǰb		ǰg	ǰz	ǰj		ǰr	ǰw	
m	mt	mk	mʔ	mf	ms	mš		mx	mh	mb	md	mg	mz	mj	mǰ	mr	mw	my
n	nt	nk	nʔ	nf	ns	nš		nx	nh	nb	nd	ng	nz	nj	nǰ	nr	nw	ny
l	lt	lk	lʔ	lf	ls	lš		lx	lh	lb	ld	lg	lz	lj	lǰ	lr	lw	ly
r	rt	rk	rf	rs	rs	rš		wx	rh	rb	rd	rg	rz	rj	rǰ	rr	rw	ry
w	wt	wk		wf	ws	wš		yx	yh	wb	wd	wg	wz	wj	wǰ	wr	wy	
y	yt	yk	yʔ	yf	ys	yš				yb	yd	yǰ	yz	yj	yǰ	yr	yw	

TABLE II
Medial Consonant Clusters: -C₁C₂- (Geminates are included)

C ₂	t	k	p	f	s	š	č	x	h	b	d	g	z	j	g	ʃ	m	n	l	r	w	y
C ₁	t	k	p	f	s	š	č	x	h	b	d	g	z	j	g	ʃ	m	n	l	r	w	y
t	tt			tf	ts	tš			th	tb	tg	tz				tʃ	tm	tn	tl	tr	tw	ty
k	kt	kk			ks	kš			kh	kb						kʃ	km	kn	kl	kr		ky
p					ps												pm					
f	ft			ff	fs	fš		fx	fh	sb	fd	fz		sj	sg	sʃ	sm	fn	fl	fr	sw	fy
s	st	sk		sf	ss			sx	sh		sd						sn	sl	sr		sw	sy
š	št					šš			čh		čd						šn	čn	čl	čr		
č	čt	čk						xx		xb	xd	xz		hʃ			xm	xl	xr	xw	xy	
x	xt			xf		hš			h̄h	hb	hd	hz					hm	hn	hl	hr	hw	hy
h	ht	hk		hf	hs	hš		bx	bh	bb	bd	bz			bg	bʃ	bm	bn	bl	br		
b	bt	bk		df	bs	bš		dx	dh	db	dd	dz			dg	dʃ	dm		dl	dr		
d				gf	gs	dš			gh	gb	gd	gz			gg	gʃ			gl	gr	gw	gy
g	gt			zf		gš			zh	zb	zd	zg			zg	zʃ	zm	zn	zl	zr	zw	
z	zt			jf	js				jh	jb		zj		jj		jʃ	jm	jn	jl	jr	jw	
j	jt			gf	gs	gš			gh	gb		gz			gg	gʃ	gm	gn	gl	gr	gw	
g				ʃf	ʃs	ʃš			ʃh	ʃb	ʃd				ʃg	ʃʃ	ʃm	ʃn	ʃl	ʃr	ʃw	ʃy
ʃ		ʃk																				
m	mt	mk			ms	mš			m̄h	mb	md	mz				mʃ	mm	mn	ml	mr	mw	my
n	nt	nk		nf	ns	nš		nx	n̄h	nb	nd	nz		nj	ng	nʃ		nn	nl	nr	nw	
l	lt	lk		lf	ls	lš		lx	lh	lb	ld	lz		lj	lg	lʃ	lm	ln	ll		lw	ly
r	rt	rk		rf	rs	rš		rx	r̄h	rb	rd	rz		rj	rg	rʃ	rm	rn		rr	rw	ry
w	wt				ws	wš			yh	yb	yd	yz		wj	yʃ	wʃ	ym	yn	yl	yr	ww	wy
y	yt	yk		yf	ys	yš								yj	yʃ	yʃ					yw	yy

TABLE III
Medial Consonant Clusters: -C₁C₁C₂-

C ₁	C ₁ C ₁	t	k	p	f	s	š	č	x	h	b	d	g	z	j	ǧ	ʕ	m	n	l	r	w	y
tt	tt				tʃf	tʃs	tʃš		tʃh		tʃb		tʃg					tʃm	tʃn	tʃl	tʃr		
kk	kk	kkʃ			kkf	kkʃ			kkh		kkb						kkʕ						
ff	ff	ffʃ			ffʃ	ffʃ			ffh		ffb	ffd	ffz	ffj			ffʕ		ffn	ffl	ffr		
ss	ss	ssʃ			ssf	ssʃ			ssh		ssb	ssd					ssʕ	ssm	ssn	ssl	ssr		
šš	šš	ššʃ			ššʃ								ššg										
čč	čč																						
xx	xx	xxʃ										xxd											
hʃh	hʃh				hʃf				hʃh									hʃm	hʃn	hʃl	hʃr		
hh	hh																						
bb	bb	bbʃ	bbk		bbʃ	bbʃ	bbš		bbx	bbh		bbd	bbg				bbʕ	bbm	bbn	bbʃ	bbʃ	bbʃ	ddy
dd	dd	ddʃ			ddf	dds				ddh							ddʕ	ddm	ddn	ddl	ddr		
gg	gg	ggʃ			ggf	ggs	ggš				ggb	ggd						ggm	ggn	ggl	ggr		
zz	zz											zzg						zzm			zzr		
jj	jj	jjʃ			jjʃ	jjʃ			jjh		jjb							jjm		jjl	jjr		
ǧǧ	ǧǧ										ǧǧb										ǧǧr		
ʕʕ	ʕʕ	ʕʕʃ			ʕʕʃ	ʕʕʃ					ʕʕb	ʕʕd						ʕʕm			ʕʕr		
mm	mm	mmʃ			mmʃ	mmʃ					mmʃ	mmʃ							mmʃ	mmʃ	mmʃ		
nn	nn	nnʃ				nnʃ			nnh			nnʃ	nnʃ										
ll	ll	llʃ	llk								llb	llʃ	llg				llʕ	llm					
rr	rr	rrʃ	rrk		rrʃ	rrʃ					rrb	rrʃ	rrg	rrj			rrʕ	rrm					
ww	ww	wwʃ									wwʃ	wwʃ						wwm	wwn	wwʃ	wwʃ		
yy	yy	yyʃ	yyk						yyh	yyh	yyb	yyʃ	yyg	yyz			yyʕ	yyʃ	yyʃ	yyʃ	yyʃ	yyʃ	

TABLE IV
Final Consonant Clusters: $-C_1C_2$

[illegible]

6.7. ATTESTED CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN saʕi:di

Tables I, II, III, and IV indicate all attested consonant clusters in saʕi:di.

Medial clusters of the pattern $-C_1C_2C_3-$

/tfk tfh tfl tsh tšk tzk ktm ktl ksr ftl fsh fsl fšt fšl/

/fzr fjx stl sgr štm škl xtm ʕsr ʕšr htk hdr hʕr hml/

/btl bdr gsm zkr ʕsl ʕkm ʕfs ʕsr ʕdk ʕdh ʕgl msk mħh mdǵ ntr nsl/

/nšr nxl ndk ndh ndr ngl nzh ltx lkm lfz lbd ldm lgf lgm wsl wgf wzn/

/rtl rkt rkz rfs rbt rdh rdm rgt rgl rǵl rmh/

7. MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATION

7.1. TYPES OF MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATION IN saʕi:di

- 1) Phonologically conditioned alternation:
 - (a) alternation of vowels,
 - (b) epenthesis,
 - (c) elision,
 - (d) assimilation of consonants,
 - (e) emphatic vowel harmony (treated under "Emphasis").
- (2) Morphologically conditioned alternation: Stem variation (treated under "Morphemics").

7.2.

Shifts of stress occur in accordance with the rules mentioned in 2.3.5. above.

7.3. ALTERNATION OF VOWELS

(RULES GOVERN EMPHATIC AND NON-EMPHATIC VOWELS)

(1) Quantitative:

Shortening of long vowels. A long vowel in the microsegment alternates with the corresponding short vowel when the microsegment is followed in close transition by a sequence including a long vowel or -VCC, where -V is other than the long vowel in the microsegment:

- | | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 1. a. /gɛ:t/ | 'field' | /gɛtɛ:n/ | 'two fields' |
| b. /ʕlɑ:wa/ | 'jar' | /ʕlawtɛ:n/ | 'two jars' |
| c. /fɑ:t/ | 'he passed by' | /fató:/ | 'they left him' |
| 2. a. /gɛtʃkʂey/ | 'not your (f.s.) field' | but /gɛ:thom/ | 'their field' |
| b. /ʕlawithi/ | 'her jar' | /ʕlɑ:wtek/ | 'your (f.s.) jar' |
| c. /fatáthom/ | 'she left them' | /fɑ:thi/ | 'he left her' |

(2) Qualitative:

- (a) In monosyllabic microsegments /e/ alternates with /i/, /o/ with /u/ when the

microsegment is followed in close transition by any sequence. Examples:

/bét/	'girl'	/bíttu/	'his daughter'
/gérd/	'monkey'	/girdé:n/	'two monkeys'
/xón/	'corner'	/xúnnak/	'your (m.s.) corner'

(b) In microsegments stressed on the penult and ending with /i/, /i/ alternates with /a:/ when followed in close transition by a sequence of the structure C~CV(C). /i/ when final in the microsegment alternates with /a/ before /+/ and when /+/ is lost.

Examples:

/ʃalámni/	'our flag'	
/ʃalamná:šey/	'not our flag'	
/šayyáʃni/	'we sent'	
/šayyaʃná:hi/	'we sent her'	
/šayyaʃná:hom/	'we sent them'	
/bíрки/	'pond', /bíрка zá:/	ta 'a dirty pond'

(c) The sequence /ey/ when final in the microsegment alternates with /i/ before /+/ and when /+/ is lost. Examples:

/sá:ley/	'always'
/sá:li+gá:yeš/	'always wandering (m.s.)'
/ktá:bey/	'my book'
/ktá:bi+zé:n/	'my book is good'

(d) The sequence /ow/ when final in the microsegment alternates with /u/ before /+/ and when /+/ is lost. Examples:

/zállagow/	'they trapped'
/zállagu+lħará:mey/	'they trapped the thief'

7.4. EPENTHESIS

When /+/ is lost in the environment $-C_1C_2 + C_1C_2-$ an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the two clusters. The epenthetic vowel is /i/, always unstressed. Examples:

/tabáʃt+klá:bu/	'I drove away his dogs'
/tabáʃtiklá:bu/	

7.5. ELISION

In a sequence ending with $/-V:CeC/$, /e/ is elided when the sequence comes in close transition with another sequence beginning with $V- \sim V:-$. Examples:

/ʃá:mel/	'worker'
/ʃá:m̥lu/	'his worker'
/ʃamlé:n/	'two worker's'

7.6. ASSIMILATION OF CONSONANTS

(1) Progressive assimilation is rare in *saʕi:di*. It occurs in the environment $\bar{V}C_1 + C_1V$, when, at the loss of $/+ /$ the resulting geminate includes an emphatic coda and a partially emphatic onset.

(2) Regressive assimilation is the more common type. Regressive assimilation involved in the processes of suffixation and prefixation within the microsegment is treated under Morphemics.

(3) Regressive assimilation in *saʕi:di* occurs across $/+ /$ in the environment $CC_2 + CV$ where the second member of the pre-junctural cluster is assimilated to the postjunctural pre-vocalic consonant. Table V represents possible assimilations in this environment. C_1 (columns) represents the second member in the pre- $/+ /$ cluster. C_2 (rows) represents consonants occurring in post- $/+ /$ position. Segments are classified on the basis of point of articulation. (.) on the table indicates $/+ /$. The numerical superscripts refer to the following examples:

1. $/g\acute{a}lb/$ 'heart'
 $/g\acute{a}lf + f\acute{a}:yeg/$ 'a contented heart'
2. $/ʕ\acute{a}nz/$ 'goat'
 $/ʕ\acute{a}nš + š\acute{a}:yxi/$ 'an old goat'
3. $/t\acute{a}lg/$ 'bullet'
 $/t\acute{a}lg + g\acute{e}:ru/$ 'another bullet'

7.7. REGRESSIVE ASSIMILATION RESULTING FROM LOSS OF $/+ /$

Table Va represents possible assimilations when $/+ /$ is lost in the environment $VC + C$, where a final consonant (post-vocalic pre-junctural) is assimilated to a post-junctural consonant (whether pre-vocalic or first member in an initial cluster). C_1 represents the pre-junctural consonant, C_2 , the post-junctural. The numerical superscripts refer to the following examples.

- (1) $/s\acute{a}bat + dakká:/$
 $/s\acute{a}baddakká:/$ 'the other (fellow's) basket'
- (2) $/x\acute{a}b\acute{a}š + s\acute{a}bʕi/$
 $/x\acute{a}b\acute{a}ss\acute{a}bʕi/$ 'he took seven (in his palm)'
- (3) $/b\acute{a}laḥ + ʕ\acute{a}:l/$
 $/b\acute{a}laʕʕ\acute{a}:l/$ 'good dates'
- (4) $/k\acute{a}t\acute{a}lat + zgé:m/$
 $/k\acute{a}t\acute{a}lazzgé:m/$ 'she killed a mouse'
- (5) $/d\acute{a}lag + kf\acute{a}:yi/$
 $/d\acute{a}lakkf\acute{a}:yi/$ 'he poured enough (of any liquid)'
- (6) $/m\acute{a}sak + gr\acute{a}:b/$
 $/m\acute{a}saggr\acute{a}:b/$ 'he caught a crow'

TABLE V
Regressive Assimilation Across Juncture

[illegible]

TABLE Va
Regressive Assimilation conditioned by Loss of Juncture

[illegible]

7.8. ASSIMILATION BY LOSS

(1) /ʔ/ is dropped when /+/ is lost in the environment /-C+ʔV/. Examples:

/náxl+ʔabú:/
 /náxlabú:/ 'his father's palm groves'

(2) The sequence /ʔV±/ is dropped when /+/ is lost in the environment /V+ʔV/.
 Examples:

/hádda+ʔaxú:/
 /háddaxú:/ 'he soothed his brother'

7.9. REDUPLICATION

(1) Final single consonants in monosyllabic microsegments of the structure CVC are reduplicated on coming into close transition with suffixes of the structure V, VC or CV(C).

Examples: /xáddu/ 'his cheek'
 /xáddhi/ 'her cheek'

The only exceptions to this rule are: /kál/ 'he ate' and /xád/ 'he took'. Examples:

/kálat/ 'she ate'
 /xádown/ 'they took'.

PART II

MORPHEMICS



8. saʕi:di MORPHEMIC SEGMENTS

8.1. SUPRASEGMENTAL MORPHEMES

8.1.1. *Stress*

(a) The citation forms of morphologically minimal words (consisting of a stem minimally CV) occur with a stress morpheme which contains a primary stress and a preceding plus.

(b) The citation forms of morphologically nonminimal words occur with a stress morpheme which contains a primary stress which — as with the morphologically minimal word — falls on the syllables of the word in accordance with the statements given in 2.3.5. as well as a preceding plus.

8.1.2. *Intonation*

A saʕi:di intonation contour constitutes an intonation morpheme which co-occurs with a word, a phrase, a clause, or a sentence. saʕi:di intonation contours are described in 2.4.

8.2. SEGMENTAL MORPHEMES

8.2.1 *Stems*

Noun and verb stems are bimorphemic units, each consisting of:

- (1) a root made up exclusively of consonants,
- (2) a vocalic pattern which consists of at least one vowel.

Consonantal roots as well as vocalic patterns consisting of more than one vowel are by definition discontinuous morphemes. Other form classes than nouns and verbs have stems which consist of contiguous phonemic sequences.

8.2.2. *Affixes*

Inflectional: indicates a grammatical category, and may be segmentally overt or covert.

Derivational: changes the form class of the stem, and is segmentally overt.

Affixes include suffixes, prefixes and infixes.¹

¹ In the present discussion of saʔi:di morphemics (and syntax), stress will be unmarked unless relevant to the point discussed.

9. FORM CLASSES IN saʕi:di

In terms of inflectional behavior it is possible to establish the following form classes:

- (1) Nouns: inflected for number, gender, definiteness and allocation.
- (2) Noun-adjectives (henceforth referred to as "adjectives"): a limited number of nouns which fill the modifier slot and agree with the modified noun in number and gender. Adjectives do not have a dual form. The inflectional behavior of adjectives is determined by the slot, not the stem.
- (3) Verbs: inflected for aspect, mood, tense, voice, subject and object reference.
- (4) Pronouns: inflected for person, gender and number.
- (5) Particles: some particles are inflected for allocation.

9.1. NOUNS

Nouns in saʕi:di may be divided into the following six sub-classes on the basis of distributional similarities displayed in the selection of allomorphs of the plural morpheme {L} (arranged on the basis of number of stems in each subclass):

<i>Sub-class</i>	<i>Subs. Reference</i>
/-a:t/	Noun 1
/-Ø/	2
/-i:n/	3
/-i/	4
/-a:n/	5
/-a/	6

9.1.1. *Singular and plural patterns in saʕi:di*

Tables VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, and XI show the singular and plural patterns in saʕi:di

9.1.2. *Pluralization of nominal sub-classes*

The following observations on the pluralization of nominal sub-classes may be made.

- (1) Noun 1 and Noun 3 form the plural by addition of the plural suffix and automatic morphophonemic alternation (described in 7.3.).

(2) Noun 2, Noun 4, Noun 5 and Noun 6 form the plural by addition of the plural suffix and changes in the vocalic pattern of the singular stem.

(3) There is overlapping of singular general patterns (e.g., the pattern $C_1VC_2V:C_3$ appears with Noun 1 (8) and Noun 3 (5), but this fact does not present a problem insofar as the vocalic sub-patterns are different.

(4) There is overlapping of singular vocalic sub-patterns (e.g., sub-pattern $C_1C_2a:C_3$ appears with Noun 1 (7) and Noun 4 (3)). A singular sub-pattern may have several plural sub-patterns (e.g., singular sub-pattern $C_1a:C_2eC_3$ Noun 2 (11)). Several singular sub-patterns may have one plural sub-pattern (e.g., Noun 2 (20)). This type of overlapping increases the difficulty of prediction of plural patterns.

(5) The following types of noun stems are not included in tables VI-XI:

(a) Nouns ending with the sequence /-ey/ which form the plural by addition of the plural suffix /-i:n/ or /-i/ in free variation, /-ey/ alternates with /-iyy-/ (e.g., /tʊrɒbɛy/ 'undertaker', /tʊrɒbiyyi/ or /tʊrɒbiyyi:n/ 'undertakers'.

Exceptions are few noun stems of the singular general pattern $C_1V:C_2VC_3$ (included in the pertinent sub-classes) in the above mentioned tables. Examples:

/gɑ:dey/ 'judge'	/gʊdɑ/ 'judges'
/ʒɑ:sɛy/ 'rebel'	/ʒɑ:siy:n/ 'rebels'

(b) Names of persons (other than those which function as adjectives) and borrowed words which form the plural by addition of the plural suffix /-a:t/ and automatic morphophonemic alternation. Examples:

1. Names

		<i>Plural</i>
/ʔiħmad/ a male name		/ʔiħmada:t/
/fɑ:tmɑ/ a female name		/fɑtmɑ:t/

2. Borrowed words

/ʃort/ 'short trousers'	/ʃorta:t/
/ke:k/ 'cake'	/keka:t/

(c) Feminine stems which are formed by addition of /-i/ or /-a/ (allomorphs of {F}) to the masculine singular stem. They form the plural by addition of the plural suffix /-a:t/ and automatic morphophonemic alternation (but participles (active and passive) with (or without) the feminine suffix /-i/ or /-a/ form the plural with /-i:n/ and automatic morphophonemic alternation). Examples:

<i>m.s.</i>		<i>f.s.</i>	<i>pl.</i>
/ħaki:m/ 'physician'		/ħaki:mi/	/ħakima:t/
/dob/ 'bear'		/dubba/	/dubba:t/

9.1.3. Dual number

The dual is signalled by suffixing /-e:n/ to the singular stem. Examples:

/gi:t/	/giṭe:n/	'two small amounts'
/gefl/	/gifle:n/	'two locks'

9.1.4. *Dual Forms*

Apart from automatic vowel alternation, the following observations may be made about dual forms.

- (1) The allomorphs /-i/ and /-a/ of {F} alternate with /-t/ before /-e:n/. Examples:

/birri:mi/	/birrimte:n/	'two corkscrews'
/ħaʕa:ra/	/ħaʕarte:n/	'two insects'

- (2) Final /-y/ in monosyllabic stems of the structure CVC is reduplicated before /-e:n/. Examples:

/xay/	/xayye:n/	'two brothers'
/ħay/	/ħayye:n/	'two snakes'

9.1.5. *Gender*

9.1.5.1. *saʕi:di* noun stems may be subdivided into:

- (1) inherently masculine noun stems,
- (2) noun stems in which the feminine gender is signalled by the feminine morpheme {F} which has the following allomorphs:
 - (a) /-∅/: with feminine stems in which gender is not overtly indicated (e.g., /ra:s/ 'head');
 - (b) /-i/: with non-emphatic noun stems and emphatic noun stems ending with the sequences:
 - Vyyi (e.g., /baṭṭaniyyi/ 'blanket')
 - CV:Ci (e.g., /daṃa:ni/ 'collateral')
 - (c) /-t-/: when followed in close transition by suffixes of the structure V(C): (e.g., /tiffaṭte:n/ 'two apples')
 - (d) /-it/: 1. Phonologically conditioned: when followed in close transition by suffixes of the structure CV(C): (e.g., /tiffaḥithi/ 'her apple';
2. Syntactically conditioned: when the feminine noun occurs as head of a genitival nominal phrase: (e.g., /tiffa:ḥit ḥassan/ 'Hassan's (male name) apple').
 - (e) /-a/ elsewhere (e.g., /baṭṭa/ 'axe').

9.1.5.2. *Gender in plural nouns:*

Gender is unsignalled in plural nouns. Singular masculine and singular feminine stems may select the same plural suffix. The following examples illustrate this point.

Nominal

<i>Sub-class</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Noun 1	/mdarrsi/ 'woman teacher'	/mdarrsa:t/
	/baka:n/ 'place' (m.)	/bakana:t/
Noun 2	/ra:s/ 'head' (f.)	/ru:s/
	/berj/ 'tower' (m.)	/bru:j/
	/ze:ni/ 'good' (f.)	/zeni:n/
Noun 3	/xara:ba/ 'ruin' (f.)	/xarabi:n/
	/mayyet/ 'dead' (m.)	/mayyti:n/
Noun 4	/waḥiyyi/ 'oasis inhabitant' (f.)	/waḥiyyi/ or /waḥiyyi:n/
	/wa:hey/ 'oasis inhabitant' (m.)	
Noun 5	/he:ta/ 'wall' (f.)	/ḥita:n/
	/ge:t/ 'field' (m.)	/ḡita:n/
Noun 6	/šari:fi/ 'noble' (f.)	/šarafa/
	/šari:f/ 'noble' (m.)	

9.1.6. *Definiteness*

saḡi:di nouns are inflected for definiteness either overtly by prefixing /ʔil-/ to the noun stem or covertly by:

- (1) Class membership: as is the case with proper nouns:
- (2) Position: (a) as head of a genitival nominal phrase, (b) filler of the head slot after the vocative particle /ya/, (c) as head of a nominal construct.

9.1.7. /ʔil-/ has the allomorph ʔiC₁C₁ where C₁ represents any dental, alveolar or palatal consonant (except /č/). It has the allomorph /li-/ before noun stems beginning with CC-, /l-/ elsewhere. Examples:

/ʔiddáʔi/ 'the hyena', /liḥsé:n/ 'the fox', /lkálb/ 'the dog'.

9.1.8. Inflection of nouns for definiteness and allocation are — as elsewhere in saḡi:di — mutually exclusive.

9.2. ADJECTIVES

9.2.1. *Singular and plural patterns of adjectives*

There are four sub-classes of adjectives, classified on the basis of distributional similarities displayed in the selection of the plural suffix (arranged on the table on the basis of the number of stems belonging to each sub-class).

<i>Sub-class</i>	<i>Subs. Reference</i>
/-i:n/	Adjective 1

/-Ø/	Adjective 2
/-i/	Adjective 3
/-a/	Adjective 4

In tables XII, XIII, and XIV, of adjective subclasses, N = noun; numbers in parentheses refer to singular general patterns.

9.2.1.1. Adjective 1 comprises stems of noun 3. Examples:

/naʃja:ʃ/	'talkative' (Noun 3 (2))
/raʃle:n naʃjaʃi:n/	'two talkative men'
/riʃja:la naʃjaʃi:n/	'talkative men'

9.2.2. *The Pluralization of Adjective Sub-Classes*

The following observations on the pluralization of adjective sub-classes may be made.

(1) Adjective 1 forms the plural by addition of the suffix /-i:n/ and automatic morphophonemic alternation.

(2) Adjective 2 forms the plural by addition of /Ø/ and variation in the vocalic pattern of the singular stem.

(3) Adjective 3 forms the plural by addition of the suffix /-i/, variation in the vocalic pattern of the singular stem or automatic morphophonemic alternation. All noun stems ending with the sequence /-ey/ — not included in Table XIII — function as Adjective 3, with the exceptions mentioned in 9.1.2(5a) above.

(4) Adjective 4 forms the plural by addition of the suffix /-a/ and variation in the vocalic pattern of the singular stem.

(5) The following adjective stems do not have plural forms:

- (a) /baɾaka/ 'blessed' or 'blessing'
- /ħar/ 'warm' or 'warmth'
- /ʃa:l/ 'excellent'
- (b) Comparative adjective stems:
- /piddya:ba ɸawʃar min likla:b/
- 'wolves are fiercer than dogs'

9.2.2.1. Agreement with nouns:

9.2.2.1.1. Number and gender. Adjectives

(1) agree with singular nouns in number and gender. Examples:

/ge:t/	'field (m.)'
/ge:t wa:seʃ/	'wide field'
/turgə/	'corridor (f.)'
/turgə wa:sʃi/	'wide corridor'

(2) show plural form when modifying dual and plural nouns. Examples:

Dual	/geɬe:n wasʃi:n/	'two wide fields'
	/turgɬe:n wasʃi:n/	'two wide corridors'

Plural /gita:n wasʃi:n/
/turgat wasʃi:n/

9.2.2.2. Definiteness:

(1) Adjectives may or may not agree with nouns in definiteness in post-nominal position. Examples:

/lkalb wa:ʃer/ 'the dog is fierce'
/lkalb lwa:ʃer/ 'the dog (which is) fierce'

(2) In pre-nominal position adjectives do not show agreement with nouns in definiteness. Examples:

/wa:ʃer lkalb/ 'the dog is fierce'
Lit. 'fierce is the dog'

9.2.3. Numerical adjectives

9.2.3.1. Cardinal numerical adjectives:

9.2.3.1.1. Distribution.

(1) /wa:hed/ 'one' agrees with the modified noun in gender and definiteness. When definite, /wa:hed/ occurs only in post-nominal position (e.g., /Pirra:ʒel lwa:hed/ 'the one man').

(2) /tne:n/ 'two' occurs before plural nouns (e.g., /tne:n faʃali/ 'two workers') and after dual nouns (e.g., /sabate:n tne:n/ 'two baskets'). /tne:n/ agrees with the modified noun in definiteness (e.g., /Pissabate:n Pittne:n/ 'the two baskets').

(3) Cardinal numerical adjectives from 3 to 10 occur with plural nouns, in pre- or post-nominal position. In post-nominal position 3 to 10 agree with the modified noun in definiteness, whereas in pre-nominal position they may or may not agree with the modified noun in definiteness. Cardinals from 3 to 10 are not inflected for gender. Examples:

/xamas byu:t/ 'five houses'
/lxamas saʒara:t/ 'the five trees'.

(4) Cardinal numerical adjectives from 11 upward are uninflected, and occur:

(a) definite or indefinite in pre-nominal position, with indefinite singular nouns. Examples:

/ħda:ʃer be:t/ 'eleven houses'
/liħda:ʃer be:t/ 'the eleven houses'.

(b) definite in post-nominal position with plural definite nouns (e.g., /libyu:t liħda:ʃer/ 'the eleven houses').

9.2.3.1.2. Ordinal numerical adjectives

(1) modify singular nouns (e.g., /xa:mes ʒawa:b/ 'the fifth letter').

(2) Ordinals from 1 to 10 occur uninflected in pre-nominal position. In post-nominal position ordinals from 1 to 10 agree with the modified noun in gender and definiteness. Examples:

/gubba xa:msi/ 'a fifth (f.) dome (f.)'
 /lgubba lxa:msi/ 'the fifth (f.) dome (f.)'

(3) Ordinal numerical adjectives from 11 upward occur in post-nominal position and agree with the modified noun in definiteness:

/lyo:m lxamsi:n/ 'the fiftieth day'.

9.2.4. Comparison of adjectives

9.2.4.1. The comparative degree:

(1) Participial adjectives,¹ active (e.g., /fa:hem/ 'understanding'), and passive (e.g., /mafhu:m/ 'understood') form the comparative by a phrase in which one of the intensifiers — /ʔaktar/ 'more', /ʔagal/ 'less', /ʔaḥsan/ 'better' — occurs followed or not followed by a /min/-phrase in post-adjectival position (e.g., /ra:ʒel mafhu:m ʔaktar min ʒe:ru/ 'a man better understood than others'). The phrase of comparison occurs in post-nominal position. The adjective agrees with the noun in number and gender.

(2) Other adjectives than participials form the comparative with the comparison morpheme {ʔa} prefixed to the comparative stem of the adjective. Adjectives with the prefix /ʔa-/ occur in post-nominal position, may or may not agree with the noun in definiteness, and are not inflected for number or gender.

9.2.4.2. The superlative degree:

The comparative adjective with /ʔa-/ signals the superlative degree in the following positions: (a) pre-nominal (e.g., /ʔabrad yo:m/ 'the coolest day'); (b) pre-nominal, followed in post-nominal position by /fi-/ phrase (e.g., /ʔabrad yo:m fiššaher/ 'the coolest day in the month').

9.2.4.3. Adjectives which form comparison by a phrase signal the superlative degree by occurrence in post-nominal position, showing agreement with the modified noun in number and gender, with the intensifier occurring in pre-nominal position. Example:

/ʔaktar wad ḥadda:t/
 'the most talkative boy of all'.

Superlative adjectives are inflected for allocation: /ʔaṣmaḥom/ 'the brownest of them'.

9.3. VERBS

9.3.1. Verb classes

saʕi:di verbs may be divided into the following sub-classes on the basis of vocalic pattern relationship between the perfective and the imperfective stems of the third singular masculine forms. Each sub-class is labelled by the type of nucleus of the stem final syllable of the imperfective form:

¹ Few active participial adjectives compare with the prefix /ʔa-/ (e.g., /ʔanjaḥ/ 'more successful').

<i>Sub-class</i>	<i>Subs. Reference</i>
/i/	Verb _{1a}
/i:/	Verb _{1b}
/e/	Verb ₂
/a/	Verb ₃
/u:/	Verb ₄
/o/	Verb ₅

The following symbols are used in tables XV-XIX, which represent the verb sub-classes.

Mon.	= monoliteral stem
Bi.	= biliteral stem
Tri.	= trilateral stem
Quad.	= quadrilateral stem
SIL	= stem initial syllable
SFL	= stem final syllable

Unless otherwise indicated, verb stem = third singular masculine perfective aspect stem, which is unmarked.

9.3.2. *Verbal Sub-Classes*

The following observations may be made on verbal sub-classes.

- (1) The maximal vocalic pattern of the verb stem is two vowels.
- (2) The first vowel in bisyllabic perfective stems in forming the imperfective aspect is either (a) reduced, when the stress shifts to the prefix. Example:

/másak/	'he caught'
/yímsek/	'he catches'

- (b) remains unchanged (e.g., all the quadrilateral stems of Verb 2).

9.3.3. *Verb inflection*

9.3.3.1. Aspect:

9.3.3.1.1. The position of the pronominal affix indicates aspect, which is either perfective or imperfective. Pronominal suffixes indicate the perfective aspect, pronominal prefixes indicate the imperfective aspect. Apart from indicating aspect, pronominal affixes indicate subject and object. Subject pronouns indicate person, gender and number of the subject: three persons, one gender (feminine), and one number (plural). Masculine gender and singular number categories are unsignalled.

9.3.3.1.2. The following two paradigms illustrate this point:

/masak/	'he caught'
---------	-------------

1. *Perfective form*

			<i>Person</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Number</i>
3.m.s.	masak	masak	∅	-	-
3.f.s.	masakat	-at	-∅-	-at	-
2.m.s.	masakt	-t	-t	-	-
2.f.s.	masakti	-ti	-t-	-i	-
1 s.	masakt	-t	-t	-	-
3 pl.	masaku	-u	-∅-	-	-u
2.pl.	masaktu	-tu	-t-	-	-u
1.pl.	masakni	-ni	-n-	-	-i

2. *Imperfective form*

3.m.s.	yimsek	yi	msek	-	yi-	-	-
3.f.s.	timsek	ti-	-∅	-	ti-	-∅	-
2.m.s.	timsek	ti-	-	-	ti-	-	-
2.f.s.	timski	ti	msk	-i	ti-	-i	-
1.s.	nimsek	ni	msek	-	ni-	-	-
3 pl.	yimsku	yi	msk	u	yi-	-	-u
2 pl.	timsku	ti-	-u	-	ti-	-	-u
1 pl.	nimsku	ni-	-u	-	ni-	-	-u

9.3.3.1.3. The following observations on subject pronouns may be made.

(1) In addition to indicating aspect by position, subject pronouns have the dual function of signalling subject and agreement in person, gender and number with an independent subject:

/lbana:t katabow/ 'the girls wrote'

/lbagaṛa ta:raṭ/ 'the cow ran away'.

(2) Comparing the perfective and the imperfective subject pronouns, we notice that if the vowel in the prefixal segments of the imperfective set is eliminated as an epenthetic vowel, the two sets may be combined as follows:

		<i>Allomorphs</i>	
	<i>Morpheme</i>	<i>Perfective</i>	<i>Imperfective</i>
3.m.s.	{y}	-∅	y-
3.f.s.	{t}	-at	t-
2.m.s.	{t}	-t	t-
2.f.s.	{ti}	-ti	t—i
1 s.	{n}	-t	n-
3 pl.	{yu}	-u	y—u
2 pl.	{tu}	-tu	t—u
1 pl.	{nu}	-ni	n—u

(3) Final /-i/ in subject pronouns, /-ni/ excepted, alternates with /-ey/; final /-u/ alternates with /-ow/ before major junctures. Examples:

² ³ ¹
/lafé:tey #/ 'you (f.s.) handed'

² ³ ¹
/lafé:tow #/ 'you (pl.) handed'

² ³ ¹
/katábni #/ 'we wrote'

(4) /yu-/ , /tu-/ , /nu-/ occur before imperfective stems of the structure $C_1C_2oC_3$; /y-/ , /t-/ , /n-/ occur before imperfective stems beginning with the sequence CV-,¹ /yi-/ , /ti-/ , /ni-/ elsewhere with imperfective stems. Examples:

/yuskot/ 'he keeps silent'

/yǵanne/ 'he sings'

/yisrey/ 'he/it (m.) creeps'

9.3.3.1.4. Object reference. Verbs are inflected for object reference. Object pronouns indicate person, gender and number of the object: three persons, two genders and one number (plural). Singular number as well as gender in the plural forms is unsignalled.

/galab/ 'he defeated'

				<i>Person</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Number</i>
3.m.s.	galabu	galab	u	-Ø-	-u	-
3.f.s.	galabhi		-hi	-h-	-i	-
2.m.s.	galabak		-ak	-k	-a-	-
2.f.s.	galabek		-ek	-k	-e-	-
1 s.	galabni		-ni	-ni	-Ø	-
3 pl.	galabhum	galab	-hum	h-	-	-um
2 pl.	galabkum		-kum	k-	-	-um
1 pl.	galabni		-ni	n-	-	-i

9.3.3.1.5. Non-subject pronouns.

(1) A formally and distributionally similar set to object pronouns indicates allocation. The two sets, the object and allocative pronouns, may be collapsed into one, labelled non-subject pronouns. The first person singular /-ni/ occurs in post-verbal position and has the allomorph /-i/ elsewhere. The third person singular /-u/ has the allomorph /-Ø/ when suffixed to subject pronouns ending with -V, prepositional forms and /padi/ 'this'. /-ak/ and /-ek/ have the allomorphs /-k/ and /-key/ respectively in the same environments.

(2) /-hum/ and /-kum/ have the allomorphs /-hom/, /-kom/ before major juncture.

(3) First singular /-ni/ has the allomorph /-ney/ before major juncture.

(4) First plural /-ni/ has the allomorph /-na/ before or at the loss of /+/.

(5) On the syntactic level non-subject pronouns fill the object slot in declarative verbal sentences, by occurrence in close transition with verb stems inflected for subject reference (i.e., verbal construct). Non-subject pronouns fill the modifier slot in a nominal construct (see 14.2 below).

² Pronominal prefixes beginning with /t-/ have allomorphs beginning with /Pi-/ when prefixed to stems beginning with /t-/ or /d-/ (e.g., t-ḥda:grow/ : /Pidda:grow/ 'you (pl.) try').

9.3.3.1.6. Mood.

(A) The imperative mood.

(a) saʕi:di verb stems are inflected for the imperative mood³ which is indicated by the prefix {ʔi}. The imperative stem is that of the imperfective aspect. {ʔi} has the following allomorphs:

1. /ʔu-/ before stems of the structure CCoC;

/ʔusnot/ 'keep quiet (m.s.)!'

/ʔuʕkom/ 'catch (m.s.)!'

/ʔi-/ before other stems of the structure CCVC:

/ʔimsek/ 'hold (m.s.)!'

/ʔisref/ 'spend (m.s.)!'

2. /θ-/ elsewhere: /gi:l/ 'forgive! (m.s.)'

(b) The imperative stem is inflected for gender (feminine) in the shape of the suffix /-i/ (/ey/ before major juncture) and number (plural) in the shape of the suffix /-u/ (/ow/ before major junctures). Examples:

/ši:l/ 'go away (m.s.)!'

/ši:ley/ 'go away (f.s.)!'

/ši:low/ 'go away (pl.)!'

(B) The desiderative mood.

(a) saʕi:di verbs with stems of the structure C₁C₂eC₃ and C₁aC₂aC₃ are inflected for the desiderative⁴ mood which is indicated by the morpheme {sta} which has the allomorphs /sta-/ for the perfective, and /-sta-/ for the imperfective. Examples:

/greb/ 'he/it (m.) came near'

/stagrab/ 'he thought (it was) near'

/yistagrab/ 'he thinks (it is) near'

(b) With stems of the structure C₁C₂eC₃ /sta-/ is prefixed to the imperfective aspect stem /-sta-/ to the perfective aspect stem. Examples:

/yibrad/ 'he feels cold'

/stabrad/ 'he thought (it was) cold'

/bred/ 'he felt cold'

/yistabred/ 'he thinks (it is) cold'

(c) With stems of the structure C₁aC₂aC₃, the desiderative forms are

sta C₁C₂aC₃ e.g., /ħalaf/ 'he swore'

/staħlaf/ 'he wanted (him) to swear'

yista C₁C₂eC₃ /yistahlef/ 'he wants (him) to swear'

³ /ji/ 'he came' has no imperative form; /ħa:t/ 'bring (m.s.)' and /taʕa:li/ 'come (m.s.)' are inflected only for the imperative mood.

⁴ The term estimative-desiderative may be equally satisfactory.

9.3.3.1.7. Tense.

(1) Durative: indicated by prefixing /ša-/ to the imperfective aspect form (e.g., /šaya:kel/ 'he is eating').

(2) Future: indicated by prefixing /ha-/ to the imperfective aspect form (e.g., /haya:kel/ 'he will eat').⁵

9.3.3.1.8. Voice. The passive voice is indicated by the morpheme {ʔit}.

(1) The passive voice (perfective) is indicated by /ʔit-/ prefixed to perfective aspect stems other than stems of the structure $C_1C_2eC_3$ (e.g., /ʔitʁgasam/ : /tʁgasam/ 'it was divided' : (/gasam/ 'he divided')).

(2) The passive voice (imperfective) is indicated by /yit-/ (/yi- -ʔit-/; see 7.8 above) prefixed to perfective aspect stems other than those of the structure C_1aC_2i , C_1aC_2a , $C_1C_2eC_3$, $C_1aC_2aC_3$ (e.g., /yitnā:sās/ 'it is filled' (/nā:sās/ 'he filled')).

(3) Perfective passive form of stems of the structure $C_1C_2eC_3$ is

$$\text{ʔit} \frown C_1aC_2aC_3$$

(e.g., /šreb/ 'he/it (m.) drank' : /tšarab/ 'it [e.g., tea] was drunk').

(4) Imperfective passive forms of stems of the structure

C_1aC_2i	$yit \frown C_1iC_2ey$	/sali/	'he fried'
		/yitsiley/	'it is fried'
C_1aC_2a		/gārā/	'he read'
		/yitgirey/	'it is read'
$C_1C_2eC_3$	$yit \frown C_1iC_2eC_3$	/šref/	'he knew'
		/yitširef/	'he is known'
$C_1aC_2aC_3$		/šamal/	'he made'
		/yitšimel/	'it is made'

(5) The passive forms of /xad/ 'he took' are:

Perfective /ʔitta:xad/

Imperfective /yitta:xad/

(6) /ji/ has no passive forms.

9.3.3.1.9. The causative voice is indicated by the morpheme {C}, an infix which has the following allomorphs.

(1a) Reduplication of -C₂- in biliteral and triliteral verb stems. Examples:

/mali/	'he filled'
/malli/	'he caused to fill'
/šarāf/	'he spent'
/šarraḥ/	'he caused to spend'

⁵ Future tense may be expressed by /ra:yēḥ/ 'going to' + the imperfective aspect form of the verb (e.g., /ra:yēḥ yje/ 'he will come').

(1b) In biliteral stems of the type $C_1a:C_2$, when the imperfective aspect stem nucleus is /-i:-/ or /-u:-/, /-i:-/ alternates with /-ayya-/ and /-u:-/ with /-awwa-/. Examples:

- /ʃa:b/ 'he brought'
 /yʃi:b/ 'he brings'
 /ʃayyab/ 'he caused to bring'
 /fa:t/ 'he passed by'
 /yfu:t/ 'he passes by'
 /fawwat/ 'he caused to pass'

(1c) In trilateral stems of the structure $C_1C_2eC_3$ (e.g., /šreb/ 'he/it drank'), /-e-/ alternates with /-a--a-/ (e.g., /šarrab/ 'he caused to drink'). When $-C_3$ is /y/, it is dropped:

- /dreɣ/ 'he got accustomed'
 /daɾra/ 'he caused to get accustomed'

(2) /-Ø-/ allomorph with trilateral stems of the type $C_1aC_2C_2i$ and $C_1aC_2C_2a$ and quadrilateral stems. Examples:

- /ʕabbi/ 'he packed' or 'he caused to pack'
 /ʕarra/ 'he uncovered' or 'he caused to uncover'
 /sabras/ 'he went quickly' or 'he caused to go quickly'

9.3.4. *The morphophonemics of the saʕi:di verb*

Apart from the vocalic change which the stem may undergo, there are the following morphophonemic changes which occur when the stem comes in close transition with a suffix.

(1) Dropping of the final vowel:

- /maši/ 'he left' /mašat/ 'she left'

(2) The sequence /-ey/ final alternates with /i:/ before suffixes of the structure C, CV(C):

- /hdey/ 'he became quiet'
 /hdi:ni/ 'we became quiet'

(3) The prefixes, /ʔit-/ , /yit-/ , /tit-/ , /nit-/ , have allomorphs of the type CiC_1 where C_1 represents /t d s z š ʃ/ when in close transition with stems starting with any of those consonants (e.g., /yiʃʃallad/ 'he endures').

(4) /yi-/ has the allomorph /y-/ when in close transition with stems beginning with the sequence CV- (e.g., /ykallem/ 'he talks (to)').

(5) /ʔit-/ has the allomorph /t-/ when in close transition with stems beginning with the sequence CV- (e.g., /tʃamal/ 'it (m.) was made').

TABLE VI
Noun I

Refer- ence No.	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
1a	C ₁ V:C ₁ V	C ₁ a:C ₁ a C ₁ u:C ₁ a C ₁ o:C ₁ a	/ga:ga/ 'commotion' /gu:ga/ 'owl' /xo:xa/ 'peach'	/gaga:t/ /guga:t/ /xoxa:t/	C ₁ aC ₁ a:t C ₁ uC ₁ a:t C ₁ oC ₁ a:t	C ₁ VC ₁ a:t
1b	C ₁ V:C ₂ V	C ₁ i:C ₂ a C ₁ e:C ₂ i C ₁ e:C ₂ a C ₁ a:C ₂ i C ₁ a:C ₂ a C ₁ u:C ₂ i C ₁ u:C ₂ a C ₁ o:C ₂ i C ₁ o:C ₂ a	/si:ra/ 'small fish' /we:bi/ 'a grain measure' /ʕe:ta/ 'quarrel' /ʕa:di/ 'habit' /za:ta/ 'dirty pond' /fu:li/ 'grain of beans' /tu:ba/ 'small rock' /ko:li/ 'heap' /to:ra/ 'four' (used in counting fruits and vegetables)	/sira:t/ /weba:t/ /ʕeta:t/ /ʕada:t/ /za:ta:t/ /fula:t/ /tuba:t/ /kola:t/ /to:ra:t/	C ₁ iC ₂ a:t C ₁ eC ₂ i:t C ₁ eC ₂ a:t C ₁ aC ₂ i:t C ₁ aC ₂ a:t C ₁ uC ₂ i:t C ₁ uC ₂ a:t C ₁ oC ₂ i:t C ₁ oC ₂ a:t	C ₁ VC ₂ a:t
2	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ V	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₂ i C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ i C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ a C ₁ uC ₂ C ₂ a C ₁ eC ₂ C ₂ i C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₂ C ₁ iC ₂ C ₂ i C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ i C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ a C ₁ uC ₂ C ₂ i C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ i C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₂ i C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₂ a	/sinmi/ 'a tooth' /habbi/ 'a kiss' /labba/ 'a lioness' /rumma/ 'a heavy load' /bret/ 'a fool' /badal/ 'replacement' /wirti/ 'inheritance' /gatti/ 'a beating' /dagra/ 'frown' /nugra/ 'a pit' /ʕariki/ 'company' /badani/ 'a family' /baraka/ 'a blessing'	/sinna:t/ /habba:t/ /labba:t/ /rumma:t/ /britta:t/ /badala:t/ /wirta:t/ /gatta:t/ /dagra:t/ /nugra:t/ /ʕarika:t/ /badana:t/ /baraka:t/	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₂ a:t C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ a:t C ₁ uC ₂ C ₂ a:t C ₁ eC ₂ C ₂ a:t C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₂ a:t C ₁ iC ₂ C ₂ a:t C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ a:t C ₁ uC ₂ C ₂ a:t C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ a:t C ₁ uC ₂ C ₂ a:t C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ a:t C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₂ a:t C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₂ a:t	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ a:t
3	C ₁ C ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃				C ₁ C ₂ VC ₃ a:t
4	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ i				C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ a:t
5	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ i				C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ a:t
6	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ V	C ₁ uC ₂ C ₃ a C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ i C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ i C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a				C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ a:t

Table VI (Continued)

Reference No.	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
7	C ₁ C ₂ V:C ₃	C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃	/ʃra:b/ 'a leather case'	/ʃra:b:t/	C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ a:t	C ₁ C ₂ VC ₃ a:t
8a	C ₁ VC ₂ V:C ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ i:C ₃	/ħa:si:s/ 'an (amount) of grass'	/ħa:si:s:t/	C ₁ aC ₂ iC ₃ a:t	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ a:t
8b	C ₁ VC ₂ V:C ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ i:C ₃	/ħali:b/ 'an (amount) of milk'	/ħali:b:t/	C ₁ aC ₂ iC ₃ a:t	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ a:t
9	C ₁ C ₂ V:C ₃ V	C ₁ aC ₂ a:C ₃	/ħala:g/ 'divorce (n.)'	/ħala:g:t/	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a:t	C ₁ C ₂ VC ₃ a:t
		C ₁ aC ₂ a:C ₃ i	/ħta:bi/ 'writing'	/ħta:bi:t/	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a:t	
		C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃ a	/ħra:ga/ 'a (big) amount'	/ħra:ga:t/	C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ a:t	
		C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃ i	/ħmu:li/ 'weight'	/ħmu:li:t/	C ₁ C ₂ uC ₃ a:t	
10	C ₁ VC ₂ V:C ₃ V	C ₁ aC ₂ i:C ₃ i	/ħati:ni/ 'a (watch) chain'	/ħati:ni:t/	C ₁ aC ₂ iC ₃ a:t	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ a:t
		C ₁ aC ₂ a:C ₃ i	/ħaha:li/ 'a black spot'	/ħaha:li:t/	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a:t	
		C ₁ aC ₂ a:C ₃ a	/ħara:fa/ 'cemetery'	/ħara:fa:t/	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a:t	
		C ₁ aC ₂ u:C ₃ i	/ħamu:si/ 'a buffalo'	/ħamu:si:t/	C ₁ aC ₂ uC ₃ a:t	
11	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ V:C ₃ V	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₂ i:C ₃ i	/ħirri:mi/ 'a screw'	/ħirri:mi:t/	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₂ iC ₃ a:t	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ VC ₃ a:t
		C ₁ iC ₂ C ₂ e:C ₃ i	/ħimme:zi/ 'a kind of fruit'	/ħimme:zi:t/	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₂ eC ₃ a:t	
		C ₁ iC ₂ C ₂ a:C ₃ i	/ħimma:ni/ 'a pigeonlike bird'	/ħimma:ni:t/	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃ a:t	
		C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ a:C ₃ i	/ħamma:ʕi/ 'a peg'	/ħamma:ʕa:t/	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃ a:t	
12	C ₁ C ₂ VC ₃ C ₃ V	C ₁ uC ₂ C ₂ a:C ₃ i	/ħumma:ni/ 'a pomegranite'	/ħumma:ni:t/	C ₁ uC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃ a:t	C ₁ C ₂ VC ₃ C ₃ a:t
		C ₁ C ₂ uC ₂ C ₃ a	/ħu:bbə/ 'a railway term'	/ħu:bbə:t/	C ₁ C ₂ uC ₂ C ₃ a:t	
		C ₁ uC ₂ iC ₂ C ₃ i	/ħuniyvi/ 'a fist'	/ħuniyvi:t/	C ₁ uC ₂ iC ₂ C ₃ a:t	
		C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ C ₄	/ħalabə/ 'hand-cuff'	/ħalabə:t/	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ C ₄ a:t	
14	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ C ₃ V	C ₁ C ₂ uC ₂ C ₃ C ₄	/ħumbə/ 'a pump'	/ħumbə:t/	C ₁ C ₂ uC ₂ C ₃ C ₄ a:t	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ C ₃ a:t
15	C ₁ C ₂ VC ₃ C ₃ V	C ₁ C ₂ uC ₂ C ₃ C ₄	/ħurbi:d/ 'torpedo'	/ħurbi:d:t/	C ₁ C ₂ uC ₂ C ₃ C ₄ a:t	C ₁ C ₂ VC ₃ C ₃ a:t
16	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V:C ₄	C ₁ uC ₂ C ₃ i:C ₄	/ħarta:fə/ 'a small theft'	/ħarta:fə:t/	C ₁ uC ₂ C ₃ iC ₄ a:t	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄ a:t
17	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄ V	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ a:C ₄ a	/ħusta:fə/ 'a favoured person'	/ħusta:fə:t/	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ aC ₄ a:t	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄ a:t
18	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V:C ₄ V	C ₁ uC ₂ C ₃ a:C ₄ a	/ħurji:mi/ 'a threat'	/ħurji:mi:t/	C ₁ uC ₂ C ₃ aC ₄ a:t	
		C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ i:C ₄ i	/ħaftə:ni/ 'lean female animal (cow etc.)'	/ħaftə:ni:t/	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ iC ₄ a:t	
		C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ a:C ₄ i		/ħaftə:ni:t/	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ aC ₄ a:t	
19	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄ C ₅ V:C ₆	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ u:C ₄ i	/ħartu:ʕi/ 'a bullet'	/ħartu:ʕa:t/	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ uC ₄ a:t	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄ C ₅ C ₆ a:t
		C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ u:C ₄ a	/ħarsu:fa/ 'artichoke'	/ħarsu:fa:t/	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ uC ₄ a:t	
		C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ iC ₄ C ₅ a:C ₆	/ħistifħa:m/ 'enquiry'	/ħistifħa:m:t/	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ iC ₄ C ₅ aC ₆ a:t	

[illegible] $C_1C_2VC_3$

Table VII (Continued)

[illegible]

Table VII (Continued)

Reference No.	Singular		Plural			
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
21	$C_1VC_2C_1VC_3V$	$C_1uC_2C_3a:C_4$	/kurba:ɟ/ 'a whip'	/kara:bi:ɟ/	$C_1aC_2a:C_1eC_3$	$C_1VC_2V:C_1VC_3$
	$C_1VC_2C_3VC_1V$	$C_1uC_2C_3u:C_4$	/Pustu:ɟ/ 'fleet'	/Paṣa:ti:ɟ/	$C_1aC_2a:C_3eC_1$	$C_1VC_2V:C_3VC_1$
22	$C_1VC_2C_3aC_1i$	$C_1iC_2C_3aC_2a$	/miḡmara/ 'pot for burning coal'	/maja:mer/		
	$C_1iC_2C_3aC_4i$	$C_1iC_2C_3aC_4i$	/miḡlami/ 'box for pencils'	/maga:lem/		
23	$C_1VC_2C_3aC_1a$	$C_1iC_2C_3aC_2a$	/miḡrama/ 'meat grinding tool'	/mafa:rem/		
	$C_1VC_2C_3VC_1V$	$C_1iC_2C_3aC_4i$	/midrasi/ 'school'	/mada:res/	$C_1aC_2a:C_3eC_4$	$C_1VC_2V:C_3VC_4$
		$C_1iC_2C_3aC_4a$	/miḡdara/ 'sitting room'	/mana:der/		

TABLE VIII

Noun 3

Refer- ence No.	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
1	C ₁ V:C ₃	C ₁ e:C ₂	/ze:n/ 'good'	/zen:n/	C ₁ eC ₃ :in	C ₁ VC ₃ :in
2	C ₁ VC ₃ C ₂ V:C ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ a:C ₃	/gassa:s/ 'inquisitive'	/gassas:i:n/	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ aC ₃ :in	C ₁ VC ₃ C ₂ VC ₃ :in
3	C ₁ VC ₃ VC ₃	C ₁ iC ₃ eC ₃	/hurek/ 'smart'	/hirkim/	C ₁ iC ₃ C ₃ :in	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ :in
4	C ₁ C ₃ V:C ₃	C ₁ C ₃ i:C ₃	/mri:d/ 'a (religious) follower'	/mridin/	C ₁ C ₃ iC ₃ :in	C ₁ C ₂ VC ₃ :in
5	C ₁ VC ₃ V:C ₃	C ₁ aC ₃ u:C ₃	/sabu:r/ 'patient'	/sabu:ri:n/	C ₁ aC ₃ uC ₃ :in	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ :in
		C ₁ uC ₃ i:C ₃	/munir/ 'lighted'	/munirin/	C ₁ uC ₃ iC ₃ :in	
6	C ₁ V:C ₃ VC ₃	C ₁ a:C ₂ eC ₃	/barred/ 'cold'	/bardin/	C ₁ aC ₃ C ₃ :in	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ :in
7	C ₁ VC ₃ V:C ₃ V	C ₁ aC ₃ a:C ₃ a	/xara:ba/ '(a humble) house'	/xarabin/	C ₁ aC ₃ aC ₃ :in	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ :in
8	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ eC ₃	/mayyet/ 'dead'	/mayyitin/	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ C ₃ :in	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₂ C ₃ :in
9	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V:C ₃	C ₁ aC ₃ C ₃ a:C ₃	/jarray/ 'speedy (in running)'	/jarrayin/	C ₁ aC ₃ C ₃ aC ₃ :in	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₃ :in
10	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V:C ₄	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ a:C ₄	/tahma:j/ 'spend thrift'	/tahmajim/	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ aC ₄ :in	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄ :in
		C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ u:C ₄	/marbu:s/ 'hasty'	/marbusin/	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ uC ₄ :in	
11	C ₁ C ₃ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄	C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ C ₃ eC ₄	/mzabbet/ 'dirty'	/mzabbetin/	C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ C ₃ C ₄ :in	C ₁ C ₂ VC ₂ C ₃ C ₄ :in
		C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ C ₃ aC ₄	/mhabbal/ 'foolish'	/mhabbalin/	C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ C ₃ aC ₄ :in	C ₁ C ₂ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄ :in
12	C ₁ C ₂ VC ₂ C ₁ VC ₅	C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ C ₃ eC ₅	/mzahder/ 'thriving'	/mzahdrin/	C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ C ₃ C ₅ :in	C ₁ C ₂ VC ₂ C ₃ C ₅ :in
		C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ C ₃ aC ₅	/mxarbat/ 'confused'	/mxarbatin/	C ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ C ₃ aC ₅ :in	C ₁ C ₂ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₅ :in

TABLE IX
Noun 4

Refer- ence No.	Singular			Plural	
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern
1	C_1VC_3	C_1iC_3	/di:b/ 'wolf'	/dya:bi/	$C_3ya:C_2i$
2	$C_1VC_3VC_3$	$C_1aC_3aC_3$	/sabat/ 'basket'	/sbitti/	$C_1C_3aC_3C_3i$
3	$C_1C_3V:C_3$	$C_1C_3a:C_3$	/šna:b/ 'a robust fellow'	/šnibbi/	$C_1C_3iC_3C_3i$
4	$C_1VC_3VC_3$	$C_1a:C_3eC_3$	/fa:šel/ 'worker'	/fatalli/	$C_1aC_3aC_3i$
					$C_1VC_2VC_3i$

TABLE X
Noun 5

Refer- ence No.	Singular			Plural	
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern
1	C_1VC_2	C_1eC_2 $C_1a:C_2$ $C_1u:C_2$ $C_1o:C_2$	/gə:t/ 'farm' /xal/ 'maternal uncle' /hu:t/ 'big fish' /xor/ 'pond'	/gita:n/ /xila:n/ /hita:n/ /xira:n/	$C_1iC_3a:n$
2	$C_1VC_3C_3$	$C_1aC_3C_3$	/jady/ 'male goat'	/fitya:n/	$C_1iC_2C_3a:n$
3	$C_1VC_2VC_3$	$C_1aC_3aC_3$	/halag/ 'ear-rings'	/hulga:n/	$C_1iC_2C_3a:n$
4	$C_1VC_3C_3V$	$C_1iC_3C_3i$	/Pišmi/ 'a blind (fellow)'	/šinyan/	$C_2C_3ya:n$
5	$C_1VC_2V:C_3$	$C_1aC_3i:C_3$ $C_1aC_3u:C_3$	/ragi:f/ 'loaf' /xaru:f/ 'lamb'	/ruŋfa:n/ /xurfa:n/	$C_1uC_2C_3a:n$ $C_1iC_2C_3a:n$
					$C_1VC_2C_3a:n$

TABLE XI
Noun 6

Refer- ence No.	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
1	C ₁ VC ₃ C ₃	C ₁ aC ₃ C ₃	/dabʕ/ 'hyena' /sabʕ/ 'lion'	/dba:ʕa/ /sba:ʕa/ /ʕaraka/ /gudʕa/	C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃ a C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃ a C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a C ₁ uC ₂ a	C ₁ C ₂ V:C ₃ a C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ a C ₁ VC ₂ a
2	C ₁ VC ₃ V:C ₃	C ₁ aC ₃ i:C ₃	/ʕari:k/ 'partner'			
3	C ₁ V:C ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ a:C ₂ eC ₃	/ga:dey/ 'judge'			

TABLE XII
Adjective 2

Nominal Sub- Class	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
N2(6)	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃	C ₁ eC ₂ C ₃ C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃	/gerd/ 'ugly' /ʕahm/ 'obliging' /ʕams/ 'sunny'	/gru:d/ /ʕha:m/ /ʕmu:s/ /xru:ʃ/ /mlu:k/ /simey/ /kbar:r/ /ʕangʕi:l/ /maʕaʕi:l/ /ʕaʕaʕi:l/	C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃ C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃ C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃ C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃ C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃ C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃ C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃ C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ i:C ₄	C ₁ C ₂ V:C ₃ C ₁ C ₂ V:C ₃
N2(7)	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ oC ₂ C ₃	/xorʃ/ 'weak (in personality)'			
N5(4)	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V	C ₁ aC ₂ eC ₃	/malek/ 'king'			
N2(9)	C ₁ VC ₂ V:C ₃	C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ i	/ʕimi/ 'blind'			
N2(20)	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ V:C ₄	C ₁ aC ₂ i:C ₃ C ₁ iC ₂ C ₃ i:C ₄ C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ u:C ₄ C ₁ uC ₂ C ₃ u:C ₄	/kabi:r/ 'great' /ʕinsi:l/ 'stout' /maʕaʕi:l/ 'absent minded' /ʕustu:n/ '(very) smart'			

TABLE XIII
Adjective 3

Nominal Sub- Class	Singular		Plural	
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms
N4(1)	C ₁ V:C ₂	C ₁ i:C ₃	/di:b/ 'fierce'	/dya:bi/
N4(3)	C ₁ C ₃ V:C ₃	C ₁ C ₃ a:C ₃	/hsa:n/ 'robust'	/hsinni/
N4(4)	C ₁ V:C ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ a:C ₂ eC ₃	/fa:ʔel/ 'hard working'	/faʔali/
				General Pattern
				C ₁ yV:C ₃ i
				C ₁ C ₂ VC ₃ C ₃ i
				C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ i

TABLE XIV
Adjective 4

Nominal Sub- Class	Singular		Plural	
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Form	Plural Forms
N6(1)	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃	/dabʃ/ 'greedy'	/dba:ʔa/
N1(3)	C ₂ C ₃ VC ₃	C ₁ C ₂ eC ₃	/sabʃ/ 'courageous'	/sbur:ʔa/
N6(2)	C ₁ VC ₂ V:C ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ i:C ₃	/brɛt/ 'clumsy'	/britta/
			/kari:m/ 'generous'	/karama/
				General Pattern
				C ₁ C ₂ a:C ₃ a
				C ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃ a
				C ₁ C ₂ iC ₃ C ₃ a
				C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a
				C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃ a

TABLE XV
Verb I

Type of Stem	Perfective				Imperfective		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	SIL	SFL	Imperfective Form	SIL	Sub-Pattern
Bi. Tri.	C_1VC_2V $C_1C_2VC_3$	C_1aC_2i $C_1C_2eC_3$	a	i	/yimli/ /yisli/	∅	i i
				e			
Bi.	$C_1V:C_3$	$C_1a:C_2$	a:	a:	/yilir/	i:	$yC_1i:C_2$ $yC_1V:C_3$

TABLE XVI
Verb 2

Type of Stem	Perfective				Imperfective			
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	SIL	SFL	Perfective Form	Imperfective Form	SIL	SFL
Mon. Bi.	C ₁ V	C ₁ i	i	i	/ji/ 'came'	/yjej/	e	e
	C ₁ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₃	a	a	/jad/ 'happened'	/yjed/	e	e
	C ₁ VC ₂ V	C ₁ aC ₃ i	a	i	/fadi/ 'sacrificed'	/yifdey/	ø	e
	C ₁ V:C ₃ V	C ₁ aC ₃ a	a	a	/rəwə/ 'irrigated'	/yirwey/	ø	e
Tri.		C ₁ a:C ₃ i	a:	i	/ga:si/ 'suffered'	/yga:sey/	a:	e
		C ₁ a:C ₃ a	a:	a	/rə:da/ 'appeased'	/yrə:dey/	a:	e
	C ₁ VC ₃ C ₂ V	C ₁ aC ₃ i	a	i	/sammi/ 'named'	/ysammei/	a	e
		C ₁ aC ₃ a	a	a	/ramma/ 'threw'	/yrammei/	a	e
Quad	C ₁ VC ₃ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₃ aC ₃	a	a	/gasam/ 'divided'	/yigsem/	ø	e
	C ₁ V:C ₃ VC ₃	C ₁ a:C ₃ aC ₃	a:	a	/nə:sas/ 'filled'	/ynə:səs/	a:	e
	C ₁ V:C ₃ VC ₃	C ₁ o:C ₃ aC ₃	o:	a	/hə:sar/ 'surrounded'	/yhə:sər/	o:	e
		C ₁ a:C ₃ aC ₃	a:	a	/da:gar/ 'tried hard'	/yda:ger/	a:	e
	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₂	C ₁ aC ₃ C ₁ aC ₃	a	a	/karkar/ 'laughed'	/ykarker/	a	e
	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₁	C ₁ aC ₃ C ₃ aC ₁	a	a	/səbbəs/ 'prepared secretly'	/ysəbbəs/	a	e
	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₃ C ₃ aC ₃	a	a	/zərrar/ 'buttoned'	/yzərrər/	a	e
	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₃ C ₃ aC ₃	a	a	/galgas/ 'robbed'	/ygalges/	a	e
	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₁	C ₁ aC ₃ C ₃ aC ₁	a	a	/sabras/ 'went quickly'	/ysabres/	a	e
	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₃ C ₃ aC ₃	a	a	/sattaf/ 'arranged'	/ysattəf/	a	e
	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₃ C ₃ aC ₃	a	a	/šaʕlal/ 'caught fire'	/yšaʕləl/	a	e
	C ₁ VC ₂ C ₃ VC ₄	C ₁ aC ₃ C ₃ aC ₄	a	a	/gaʕmaz/ 'sat'	/ygaʕmez/	a	e

TABLE XVII

Verb 3

Type of Stem	Perfective					Imperfective				
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	SIL	SFL	Perfective Form	Imperfective Form	SIL	SFL	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
Bi Tri.	C ₁ VC ₂ V C ₁ C ₃ VC ₃ C ₁ VC ₃ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₂ a C ₁ C ₂ eC ₃ C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃	a e a	a e a	/jara/ 'happened' /greb/ 'got nearer' /gataɕ/ 'cut'	/yijra/ /yigrab/ /yigtaɕ/	∅ ∅	a a a	yiC ₁ C ₂ a yiC ₁ C ₂ aC ₃ yiC ₁ C ₂ aC ₃	yiC ₁ C ₂ V yiC ₁ C ₂ VC ₃ yiC ₁ C ₂ aC ₃

TABLE XVIII

Verb 4

Type of Stem	Perfective				Imperfective			
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	SIL	SFL	Perfective Form	Imperfective Form	SIL	SFL
Bi	C ₁ V:C ₂	C ₁ a:C ₂	a:	/təɾ/	'waked'	/yʈuɾ/	u:	yC ₁ u:C ₂

TABLE XIX

Verb 5

Type of Stem	Perfective					Imperfective					
	General Pattern		Sub-Pattern	SIL	SFL	Imperfective Form		SIL	SFL	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	SIL	SFL	Perfective Form						
Bi.	C ₁ VC ₂				/ʕad/ 'bit'					yC ₁ oC ₂	yC ₁ VC ₂
Tri.	C ₁ VC ₂ VC ₃	C ₁ aC ₂	C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃	a	/zaʕat/ 'arrested'	∅	o	o	o	yuC ₁ C ₂ oC ₃	yuC ₁ C ₂ VC ₃

10. PRONOUNS

10.1.

Subject and non-subject pronouns are discussed in 9.3.3.1.2, 9.3.3.1.3, 9.3.3.1.4, 9.3.3.1.5 above.

10.2.

The following are the pronouns which occur as free forms and may occur as one-word sentences.

		<i>Person</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Number</i>
3.m.s.	hú:	h-	-u:	-
3.f.s.	hí:	h-	-i:	-
2.m.s.	Pínti	Pínt-	-i	-
2.f.s.	Píntey	Pínt-	-ey	-
1 s.	Páni	Páni-	-Ø	-
3 pl.	húmma	h-	-	-umma
2 pl.	Píntow	Pínt-	-	-ow
1 pl.	Píñni	Píñn-	-	-i

Final /-i/ alternates with /-a/, final /-ey/ with /-i/, final /-ow/ with /-u/ before or at the loss of /+/. Examples:

/Pínta mǝxles/ 'you (m.s.) are sincere'

/Pínti šǝ:trǝ/ 'you (f.s.) are smart'

/Píntu suʃǝ:n/ 'you (pl.) are courageous'

11. PRONOMINALS

11.1.

General characteristic: filling the subject slot in verbal and non-verbal sentences.

11.2. DEMONSTRATIVES

(1) /da/ 'this' and /da:k/ 'that' occur freely before and after members of other form classes, in post- and pre-junctural positions. /da/ has the alternant /di/ before major juncture. /da:k/ occurs in close transition with pronominal free forms in the following shapes:

3.m.s.	da:k	hu:	dakka:
3.f.s.		hi:	dikki:
3 pl.		humma	dokkumma

Occurrence of /da:k/ in close transition with other pronominal free forms is rare in the idiolects described in this study.

(2) /Padi/ 'this' (seen object), and /Pawwi:n/ 'that' (seen object) when uninflected, occur before nouns. When inflected for allocation, /Padi/ and /Pawwi:n/ occur before nouns, pronominal free forms, nominal and prepositional phrases and constructs. Only when inflected, /Padi/ and /Pawwi:n/ occur as one-word sentences.

/Padi/ has the alternants /Pada-/ when in close transition with pronominal free forms and /Padi:-/ when inflected for allocation.

11.3. INTERROGATIVES

/ke:/	'how' or 'like' (shape)
/kad/	'as much as' or 'like' (size)
/ka:m/	'how many'
/Pe:/	'what'
/mi:n/	'who'
/me:ti/	'when'
/le:/	'why'
/we:n/	'where'

(1) Interrogatives occur:

- (a) prejuncturally,
- (b) initially in interrogative sentences,
- (c) as one-word sentences, with the exception of /Pinn-/ which occurs in close transition with the following pronominal free forms.

/Pinnhu:/ 'which one (m.s.)?'
 /Pinnhi:/ 'which one (f.s.)?'
 /Pinnhumma/ 'which ones (pl.)?'

(2) /we:n/ is inflected for allocation (e.g., /we:nu/ 'where is he?').

(3) /kad/ occurs initially in questions including /ka:m/, /ʔe:/ or /mi:n/. Examples:

/kad ka:m wad jow/ 'about how many boys came?'
 /kad ɡe:t mi:n ɡe:tak/ 'like whose field is yours (m.s.)?'

(4) The following sequences of two interrogatives have been observed.

- (a) /ke: ʔe:/ 'like what?'
- (b) /ke: mi:n/ 'like whom?'
- (c) /ka:m ʔe:/ 'how many what?'
- (d) /we:n ʔe:/ 'where what?'
- (e) /we:n mi:n/ 'where who?'

(5) /ke:/ functions as a linker in the environment noun + ke: + noun (e.g., /hsa:n ke: lbərg/ 'a horse like lightning (i.e., speedy)').

(6) /ke:/, /me:ti/, /le:/, /we:n/ function as adverbs when occurring in post verbal position: /ruht we:n/ 'where did you (m.s.) go?'

11.4.

The relative /ʔilley/ 'who', 'which', 'that', 'whoever', 'whatever' (1) occurs in initial position in syntactic structures of which /ʔilley/ is immediate constituent; (2) does not occur with sentence pitch peak.

12. PARTICLES

Particles — as distinct from nouns and verbs — do not contain the immediate constituents: a consonantal root and a vocalic pattern.

Sub-classes of particles:

12.1. PREPOSITIONS

(1) Prepositions are inflected for allocation by the same set of pronominal suffixes which indicates allocation with the nouns.

(2) Prepositions, inflected or uninflected, may occur before (a) definite or indefinite nouns, (b) nominal phrases.

(3) Prepositions inflected for allocation occur before pronominal free forms and as one-word sentences.

(4) Prepositions may be divided into two sub-groups on the basis of distribution of uninflected prepositional forms.

12.1.1. *Sub-group 1*

Members do not occur pre-juncturally, and normally do not occur with sentence pitch peak. They occur before nouns, nominal constructs and phrases, and interrogatives.

/bi-/	'with'
/fi-/	'in'
/ʕend/	'at'
/ʕali/	'on'
/men/	'from'
/mʕa/	'together with'
/li-/	'to'

(1) /men/ and /li-/ occur before prepositions of sub-group 2:

/min jamb/	'by (the) side'
/lafo:g/	'upwards'

but not before other members of sub-group 1.

(2) /-i-/ in /bi-/ , /fi-/ , /li-/ is dropped when in close transition with a sequence beginning with CV-, and alternates with /-i:/ when inflected for allocation. Examples:

/byade:/	'with his hands'
/fbe:tu/	'in his house'
/lwaladu/	'to his son'
/bi:hom/	'with them'
/fi:hom/	'in them'
/li:hom/	'to them'

(3) /li-/ has the allomorph /la-/ when in close transition with a following member of sub-group 2:

/lawaṛa/	'backward'.
----------	-------------

(4) /ṣali/ has the allomorph /ṣa-/ before the definite article /ʔil-/:

/ṣalkursej/	'on the chair'.
-------------	-----------------

(5) /-i/ in /ṣali/ alternates with /-e:/ and /-n/ in /men/ is reduplicated when inflected for allocation:

/ṣale:hom/	'on them'
/minnak/	'from you (m.s.)'.

12.1.2. Sub-group 2

Members may occur pre-juncturally, with sentence pitch peak, and with the same privileges of occurrence as members of sub-group 1 (but not before them or before other members of sub-group 2), with the exception of /be:n/ which occurs before other members of sub-group 2.

/taḥt/	'under'
/be:n/	'between'
/gidda:m/	'in front of'
/fo:g/	'on', 'above'
/jamb/	'beside'
/wara/	'behind'

All members of sub-group 2 may function as nominals in declarative non-verbal sentences with the constituents: noun + phrase of comparison + noun. Example:

/gidda:m ʔaḥsan min wara/
'(to be) in front is better than (to be) behind'.

12.2. LIMITING PARTICLES

/kol/	'all', 'each'
/baʕd/	'some'

/ʔay/ 'any'
 /ħawale:n/ 'about'
 /ʕilya:t/ 'most'

- (1) All limiting particles are inflected for allocation:

/kullkom/ 'all of you'
 /baʕdhom/ 'some of them'

- (2) /kol/, /baʕd/, /ʕilya:t/ are inflected for definiteness:

/lbaʕd ji/ 'some came'

- (3) /ʔay/ is inflected for allocation by plural pronominal suffixes:

/ʔayyhom/ 'any of them'
 /ʔayykom/ 'any of you'
 /ʔayyni/ 'any of us'

- (4a) /kol/ occurs before definite and indefinite singular and plural nouns:

/kol ra:ʕel/ 'each man'
 /kol ʔirriʕja:li/ 'all (the) men'

- (4b) /baʕd/ occurs before definite and indefinite singular and plural nouns:

/baʕd lhadi:d/ 'some iron'
 /baʕd lkutob/ 'some (of) the books'
 /baʕd kutob/ 'some books'
 /baʕd tra:b/ 'some dust'.

- (4c) /ʔay/ occurs before indefinite singular and plural nouns:

/ʔay kta:b/ 'any book'
 /ʔay maɾa:kəb/ 'any sailing boats'.

- (4d) /ħawale:n/ occurs before definite and indefinite dual nouns as well as cardinal numerical adjectives, definite or indefinite:

/ħawale:n raṭle:n/ 'about two pounds'
 /ħawale:n xamaṣṭa:ʕer raṭl/ 'about fifteen pounds'
 /ħawale:n lxamaṣṭa:ʕer raṭl/ 'about (the) fifteen pounds'.

- (4e) /ʕilya:t/ occurs before definite singular and plural nouns:

/ʕilya:t lgamħ/ 'most of the wheat'
 /ʕilya:t liħṣinni/ 'most of the horses'

12.3. LINKERS

/bas/ 'only'
 /la ... wala/ 'neither ... nor'

/Pilli/	'except'
/ge:r/	'other than'
/laki:n/	'but'
/wi/	'and'
/walli/	'or'
/ya ... ya/	'either ... or'

- Linkers (1) do not occur before major juncture,¹ or with sentence pitch peak;
 (2) link nouns, verbs, pronouns, phrases, clauses, sentences;
 (3) are uninflected, with the exception of /ge:r/ (allocation).
 (4) /wi/ has the allomorph /w-/ before sequences beginning with CV-.

12.4. SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

/baʃd/	'after'
/gabl/	'before'
/kullma/	'whenever'
/ʃalaša:n/	'because'
/law/	'if'
/lammi/	'when'

- (1) Only /baʃd/, /gabl/, and /law/, occur before /||/ and /#/.
 (2) /baʃd/, /gabl/ and /ʃalaša:n/ are inflected for allocation.
 (3) All conjunctions may occur with sentence pitch peak.
 (4) /baʃd/ and /gabl/ may function as nominals in declarative non-verbal sentences with the constituents: noun + phrase of comparison + noun:

/gabl Paḥsan min baʃd/

'(to be) before (e.g., arrival of plane) is better than (to be) after it'.

12.5. ADVERBS

/baɾd/	'also'
/baɾra/	'outside'
/brɔb/	'perhaps'
/dilwak/	'now'
/kama:n/	'moreover'
/kdi/	'thus'

¹ /bas/, however, may occur before major junctures:

² / Pīštara tālat karā:si bās ³ #/ ¹
 'he bought three chairs only'

/gawey/	'very'
/sa:lɛy/	'always'
/juwwa/	'inside'
/xɑ:lɛs/	'much'
/hni/	'here'
/hna:k/	'there'
/wɑ:sgl/	'at all', 'altogether'

(1) All adverbs occur (a) pre-juncturally, (b) as one-word sentences, (c) modifying verbs and adjectives by position before or after the verb or the adjective.

(2) /bɑrd/ /bɑrrɑ/ and /juwwa/ are inflected for allocation in which case final /-a/ alternates with /-a:-/:

/bɑrrɑ:hɔm/ 'outside them'

(3) /bɑrrɑ/ and /juwwa/ may function as nominals in declarative non-verbal sentences with the constituents: noun + phrase of comparison + noun:

/bɑrrɑ ʔazfat min juwwa/

'(to be) outside (e.g., a congested hall in warm weather) is worse than (to be) inside'

12.6.

The emphatic particle /ma/ occurs in initial position of the sentence, normally in close transition with the following item.

12.7.

The negative particle /miš/ has the variant /-šey/ which occurs suffixed to verbal forms. /miš/ does not occur before major junctures.

12.8.

/ʔa:/ 'yes' and /la:wal/ 'no' occur initially in the sentence, before // and may occur as one-word sentences.

12.9.

/ya/, the vocative particle fills the predicate slot in a vocative sentence or the modifier slot in a vocative phrase. /ya/ does not co-occur with sentence pitch peak.

PART III

SYNTAX

2

13. saŋi:di SYNTACTIC UNITS

13.1. THE SENTENCE

- (1) Consists of one word, phrase, clause or a sequence of these units occurring with a minimum of one intonation contour ending with either // or /#/.
- (2) Occurs between silence and // or /#/ or after one and before another of these two junctures with or without intervening single bar(s).

13.2. THE CLAUSE

- (1) Consists of one word, phrase or a sequence of these units occurring with one intonation contour ending with //, // or /#/.
- (2) Occurs between silence and // or after // and before //, // or /#/.
- (3) May be linked phonologically and/or lexically with clause(s) within the sentence.

13.3. THE PHRASE

- (1) Consists of two or more words, one of which is a head, the other(s) is modifier(s), in endocentric relationship, interrupted by /+/ with two or more primary stresses.
- (2) May fill the subject, object, predicate, or predicator slot in the sentence or the modifier or adverb slot in the phrase, clause or sentence.

13.4. THE WORD

- (1) Is a unit consisting minimally of CV, with one primary stress.
- (2) Occurs between silence and /+/, between two pluses, between /+/ and a major juncture, after // and before /#/, in which case the word constitutes a one-word clause.

13.5.

The clause, the phrase and the word may constitute a sentence by occurrence with a pitch contour ending with // or /#/.

13.6. ABBREVIATIONS

aux	= auxiliary	op	= object pronoun
adj	= adjective	P	= predicate
adv	= adverb	PLN	= negative particle
adv P	= adverbial phrase	Pred	= predicator
DCI	= dependent clause	Prep	= preposition
PLE	= emphatic particle	Prep P	= prepositional phrase
H	= head	Sn1	= declarative non-verbal sentence
ICI	= independent clause	Sn1v	= verb-type transform of Sn1
int	= intensifier	Sn2	= vocative sentence.
M	= modifier	sp	= subject pronoun
n	= indefinite noun	Sv1	= declarative verbal sentence
NCt	= nominal construct	Sv2	= imperative sentence
ND	= definite noun	VCt	= verbal construct
NP	= nominal phrase	voc. pl.	= vocative particle
O	= object		

14. TYPES OF saʕi:di PHRASES

14.1.

Classified on the basis of the types of phrase heads:

(1) The adjectival phrase:

adj + int

(2) The adverbial phrase:

adv + adv

adv + n ~ ND

adv + adj

(3) The prepositional phrase:

prep + adv

prep + n ~ ND } function as adverbials when
modifying an adjective or verb

(4) The verbal phrase:

verb + adverb

verb (aux) + verb

(5) The nominal phrase:

1 NP₁ → n + n } in genitival relationship; the
n + ND } noun head is definite by position
n + NCt }

2 NP₂ → n + adj
ND + adj
adj + ND
NCt + adj
adj + NCt
NP₁ + adj
(NP₁ → n + n)

3 NP₃ → n + NP₂
(NP₂ → NCt + adj)
ND + NP₂
(NP₂ → NCt + adj)
ND + ND } in appositive relationship

(6) /Pilley/-phrase, in which the relative /Pilley/ fills the head slot.

14.2.

The following observations may be made on the types of phrases:

- (1) Nouns may be singular or plural.
- (2) Slot sequence in NP₁ and NP₃ is rigid.
- (3) The head slot is first in position with the exception in NP₂ of the slot sequence M + H where the less rigid slot sequence of NP₂ permits the head to occupy the second position.
- (4) The head in NP₁ is unexpandable, whereas the modifier is expandable by the addition of modifier(s) or /Pilley/-phrase.
- (5) The head in NP₂ is expandable by the addition of modifier(s) or /Pilley/-phrase; the modifier is expandable by intensifiers.
- (6) The head and the modifier in NP₃ are expandable by the addition of modifier(s) or /Pilley/-phrase. /Pilley/-phrase, however, does not occur in NP₃ after a head of the type n.
- (7) Slot sequence in /Pilley/-phrase is rigid; the modifier slot may be filled by:
 - (a) adjectives,
 - (b) verbs
 - (c) verb (Pred) + noun (O)
 - (d) verbal, adjectival, adverbial, prepositional and nominal (NP₂) phrases.
- (8) The vocative phrase consists of a head (noun or NP₁) and modifier (the vocative particle /ya/).

14.3.

Types of saʃi:di constructs (construct = stem + pronominal affix(es)):

- (1) Nominal construct (NCt): noun + non-subject pronoun (allocation) (e.g., /kta:bu/ 'his book').
- (2) Verbal construct (VCt):
 - (a) VCt1 verb stem + subject pronoun /kal˘at/ 'she ate'
 - (b) VCt2 verb stem + subject pronoun + non-subject pronoun (object) (e.g., /katab˘at˘u/ 'she wrote it (m.)').
- (3) Prepositional construct: preposition + non-subject pronoun (allocation) (e.g., /li:˘kom/ 'to you (pl.)'). A prepositional construct may function as adverbial when it modifies an adjective or a verb. Examples:

/lmahiyya ze:na ʃale:k/
 'the salary is good for you (m.s.)'
 /gaʃad ʃindhom/ 'he stayed with them'.

15. TYPES OF saʔi:di CLAUSES

15.1.

The independent clause: phonologically linked — with or without a linking particle — with other clause(s) in the sentence (see 13.1 and 13.2 above).

15.2.

The dependent clause: lexically linked with other clause(s) in the sentence by a subordinating conjunction.

16. MAJOR SENTENCE TYPES IN saʕi:di

The major sentence types in saʕi:di are:

- (1) The non-verbal sentence
- (2) The verbal sentence.

Types of the non-verbal sentence:

- (1) The declarative non-verbal sentence
- (2) The vocative sentence.

16.1. THE DECLARATIVE NON-VERBAL SENTENCE (Sn1)

- (1) Spoken normally with a rising-falling or rising-returning intonation contour.
- (2) Has two slots: subject (S) + predicate (P).

16.1.1. Subtypes of Sn1

On the basis of the types of fillers of the predicate slot.

- (1) Sn1a. With a noun or a nominal as the filler of the predicate slot. Examples:

(a) / ²ná:zər ³mídrasi ¹#/ 'headmaster'

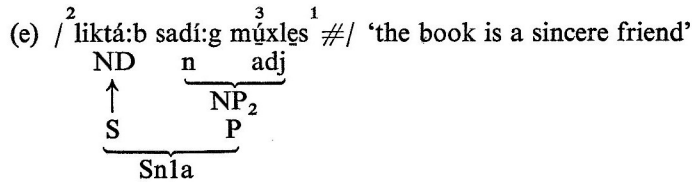
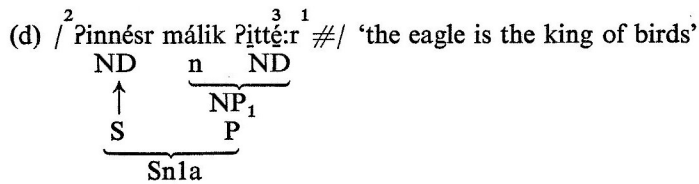
ⁿ	ⁿ
S	P
Sn1a	

(b) / ²ráyyes ³lmírkab ¹#/ 'the skipper of the sailing boat'

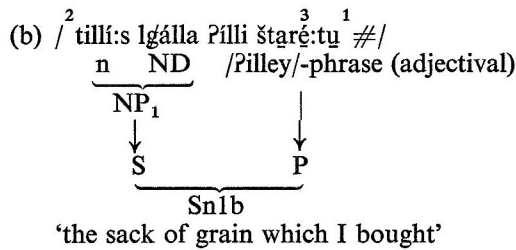
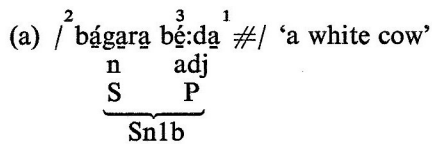
ⁿ	ND
S	P
Sn1a	

(c) / ²lgawá:leb ³dokkúmma ¹#/ 'those bricks'

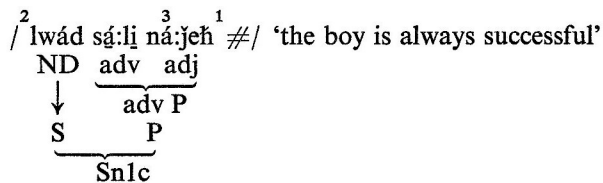
ND	^{demonstrative (pl.)}
S	P
Sn1a	



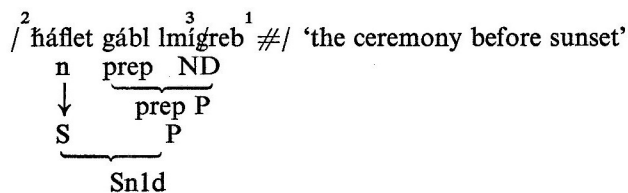
(2) Sn1b. With adjective or adjectival as the filler of the predicate slot. Examples:



(3) Sn1c. With adverbial phrase as the filler of the predicate slot. Example:



(4) Sn1d. With prepositional phrase as the filler of the predicate slot. Example:



16.1.2. *Fillers of the subject slot in Sn1*

- (1) Nouns
- (2) Pronominal free forms
- (3) Pronominals
- (4) NP₁, NP₃
- (5) an /Pillel/-phrase
- (6) Nominal and prepositional constructs

16.1.3. *Reversibility of slots in Sn1*

Sn1b of the type S(ND)+P(adj) and Sn1d of the type S(ND)+P(preposition) can be spoken with the order of S + P reversed. The decision of assigning the constituents in this case is based on the following observations:

- (1) Sentence pitch peak in Sn1 falls on the filler of the predicate slot or one of its constituents.
- (2) When the order of slots is reversed, the sentence pitch peak moves back with the predicate slot. Examples:

² ³ ¹
 / lbágarā bē:dạ #/ 'the cow is white'
 S P
² ³ ¹
 / bē:dạ lbágarā #/ 'white is the cow'
 P S

16.1.4. *Slot expansions in Sn1*

16.1.4.1. The following example is a minimal manifestation of Sn1.

² ³ ¹
 / Píddyá:r maskú:ni #/ 'the houses are occupied'

The subject may be expanded to

 B₂ B₁ A₁ A₂ A₃ A₄ A₅
 /báǵd Pissét dyá:r Píttú:b lwá:tya gáwi dokkúmma | Pílli giddá:mak/
 'some of these six low brick houses in front of you (m.s.)'

16.1.4.2. The following observations may be made on the head-modifier positional relationship in the subject slot (pre-head positions are marked B, post-head positions are marked A):

- (1) Position B₁ is occupied by cardinals, with the exception of /wa:hed/ 'one', which occupies position A₁. Cardinals from 2-10 may occupy position A₁ (in which case they agree with the noun head in definiteness). — Ordinals up to the 'tenth' occupy position B₁ or A₁.
- (2) Position B₂ is occupied by limiting modifiers.
- (3) Positions A₁ and A₂ are occupied (without rigidity of order) by (a) nominal

modifiers (b) adjectives other than numerals. — Nominal modifiers do not show agreement with the noun head.

(4) Position A₃ is occupied by intensifiers.

(5) Position A₄ is occupied by demonstratives which agree with the noun head in gender and number.

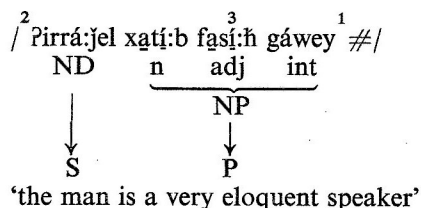
(6) Position A₅ is occupied by modifying phrases, an /Pillel/-phrase or a prepositional phrase.

16.1.4.2.1. The subject slot in Sn1 may be expanded by linking more than one nominal with /wi/, /ya ... ya/, /la ... wala/, /laki:n/.

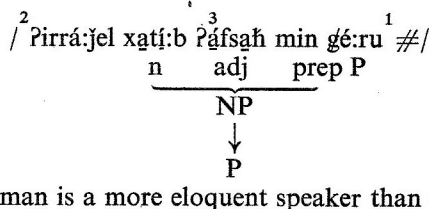
16.1.4.3. Expansion of the predicate slot in Sn1.

(1) If the predicate slot is filled by an indefinite noun it may be expanded by

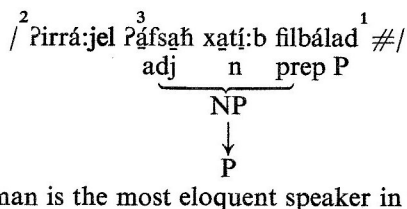
(a) adj + intensifier. Example:



(b) Comparative adjective or a phrase of comparison. Example:



(c) Adjective in the superlative degree, in which case the adjective and the noun head reverse positions. The noun head may or may not be followed by a prepositional phrase. Example:



(2) The predicate slot may be expanded by the usage of the linkers: /wa/, /ya ... ya/, /la ... wala/, /laki:n/.

16.1.5. The expression of time in Sn1

(1) Present time is expressed by Sn1.

(2) Past time is expressed in Sn1 by /ka:n/ 'was' occurring in pre-predicative position. Sn1 is the kernel of its verb-type transform. This verbalizing transformation may be represented by the formula:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Sn1} + /ka:n/ &\rightarrow \text{Sn1v} \\ \text{Sn1v} &\rightarrow \text{S} + ka:n + \text{P}\end{aligned}$$

Examples:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Sn1} \quad / &^2 \text{pamwa:lu} \quad ^3 \text{katí:ri} \quad ^1 \# / \\ &\text{'his wealth is great'} \\ &^2 \text{pamwá:lu} \quad ^3 \text{ká:nat} \quad \text{katí:ri} \quad ^1 \# / \\ &\text{'his wealth was great'}\end{aligned}$$

(3) Few instances of Sn1 have no /ka:n/-transform. Example:

$$\begin{aligned}/ &^2 \text{lsá:gba} \quad ^3 \text{śíndkom} \quad ^1 \# / \\ &\text{'a greeting on happy occasions'}\end{aligned}$$

16.2. THE VOCATIVE SENTENCE (Sn2: P + S)

(1) Sn2 has a predicate slot filled by the vocative particle /ya/, and a subject slot which may be filled by: (a) a noun, (b) NP₁ (c) an /Píley/-phrase.

(2) Sn2 normally occurs with a rising-returning intonation contour. Example:

$$\begin{array}{c}^2 \text{yá} \quad ^3 \text{sá:mey} \quad ^2 \# / \text{'Samey!'} \text{ (male name)} \\ \text{voc. pl. ND} \\ \begin{array}{cc} \text{P} & \text{S} \\ \hline & \text{Sn2} \end{array}\end{array}$$

(3) The vocative particle occurs

(a) initially in Sn2;

(b) after the verb in an imperative sentence (e.g., $/^2 \text{gú:l} \mid ^3 \text{yá} \text{wád} \# /$ '(go on speaking, boy!') in which case the vocative sentence is phonologically downgraded;

(c) in the modifier slot in a vocative phrase which fills the object slot in an imperative sentence (e.g., $/^2 \text{gú:l} \text{yá} \text{wád} \# /$ 'call (2.m.s.) the boy');

(d) after the verb in a declarative verbal sentence in which the vocative phrase fills the object slot (e.g., $/^2 \text{gúlt} \text{yá} \text{wád} \# /$ 'I called the boy');

(e) after the verb in an interrogative verbal sentence (e.g., $/^2 \text{kált} \mid ^3 \text{yá} \text{wád} \# /$ 'did you eat?', addressing a boy).

16.2.1. *Expansion of the subject slot in Sn2*

- (a) by an /Pilley/-phrase, (b) by NP₁.

16.3. THE VERBAL SENTENCE

16.3.1. *Subtypes*

- (a) the declarative verbal sentence, (b) the imperative sentence.

16.3.2. *The declarative verbal sentence (Sv1)*

- (1) Has two obligatory slots: (S)ubject and (Pred)icator and one optional slot: (O)bject.
 (2) Is normally spoken with a rising-falling intonation pattern.
 (3) The following is a minimal manifestation of Sv1

² ³ ¹
/ kálow #/ 'they ate'

which consists of a verb in the perfective aspect inflected for subject reference.

16.3.2.1. *Slot fillers in Sv1.*

- (1) *The subject slot:*

- (a) nouns
- (b) pronominal free forms
- (c) subject pronouns
- (d) pronominals
- (e) NP₁, NP₂, and NP₃
- (f) /Pilley/-phrase
- (g) nominal and prepositional constructs.

- (2) *The object slot:*

- (a) direct object (object 1): 1. nouns, 2. object pronouns, 3. pronominals, 4. NP₁, NP₂, NP₃, 5. /Pilley/-phrase, 6. vocative phrases.
- (b) indirect object (object 2)¹: 1. nouns, 2. NP₁, NP₂, 3. NCt.

- (3) *The predicator slot*

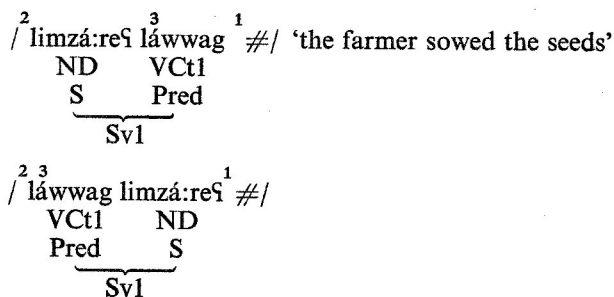
- (a) Verbal constructs
- (b) Verbal phrases

16.3.2.2. *Order of slots in Sv1*

- (1) Normally: S + Pred + O
- (2) S and Pred may reverse positions. Example:

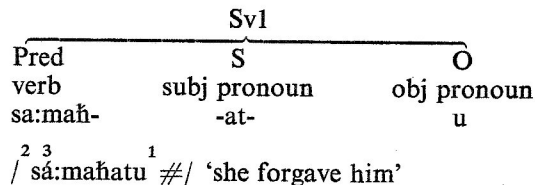
¹ A declarative verbal sentence may include a predicator which takes two objects e.g.,

² ³ ¹
/ lwád šáṭa Paxú: jawá:b #/
'the boy gave his brother a letter'.



The assignment of the constituents in this case is based on:

- (a) the position of the sentence pitch peak when the order is reversed is on the predicator; when the order is normal it may or may not fall on the predicator;
- (b) the types of slot fillers.
- (3) The object occurs in post-predicator position whether the predicator is post-subjectival or initial.
- (4) In one case slot order in Sv1 is unchangeable: when Sv1 is one word, (VCt2), the constituents of which are:



16.3.2.3. Expansion of slots in Sv1

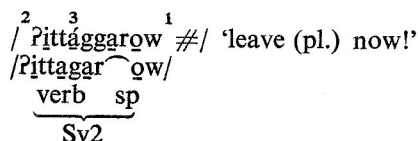
- (1) The subject slot: expandable as in Sn1
- (2) The predicator: expandable by usage of any of the auxiliaries

- (a) /ka:n/ 'was'
- (b) /yimken/ 'may'
- (c) an adverb or adverbial phrase
- (d) /rə:yēh/ 'going to'

- (3) The object: expandable only if a noun, as with the subject.

16.4. THE IMPERATIVE SENTENCE: (Sv2)

16.4.1. (1) The following example is a minimal manifestation of the imperative sentence:



- (2) Sv2 has two obligatory slots:

Pred + S +
one optional:
O.

- (3) Sv2 is normally spoken with a rising-falling intonation pattern.

16.4.2. Slot fillers in Sv2

- (1) The predicator slot: verbs inflected for the imperative mood.
(2) The subject slot: subject pronouns (2.m.s., 2.f.s., 2 pl.).
(3) The object slot: (a) object pronouns, (b) pronominals (demonstrative), (c) nouns,
(d) NP₁, NP₂ or NP₃, (e) an /Pilley/-phrase.

16.4.3. Slot expansion in Sv2

- (1) The predicator may be expanded by
(a) an adverb

² / ³ Píjri gawá:m ¹ #/ 'run (2.m.s.) quickly!'
pred adv

in which case the subject slot is unexpandable.

- (b) a prepositional phrase

² / dáldel min ³ fô:g ¹ #/ 'throw (2.m.s.) (e.g., the rope) from above!'
pred prep adv
prep P

- (2) The object is expandable
(a) if a pronominal, by /Pilley/-phrase

² / ši:l dakká: ³ Pílli fissandú:g ¹ #/ 'carry (2.m.s.) that (m.) which is in the box!'
pred demon- /Pilley/-phrase
strative
O

- (b) if a noun, as in the subject slot in Sn1.

17. NEGATION

17.1. THE DECLARATIVE NON-VERBAL SENTENCE

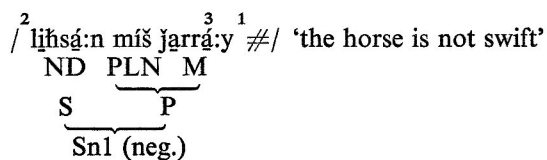
There are two negative particles in saṣi:di:

- (1) a. /miš/ 'not'
- b. /ma/ (emphatic particle) ... /-šey/ suffix allomorph of /miš/
- (2) /la ... wala/ 'neither ... nor'.

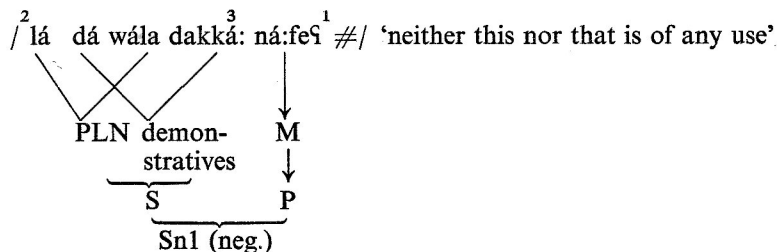
17.2. DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGATIVE PARTICLE

In Sn1:

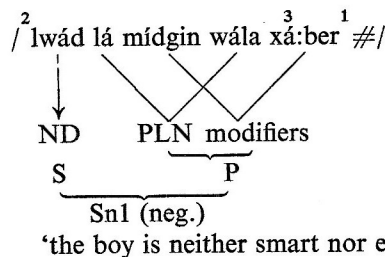
- (a) /miš/ occurs in pre-predicative position without any restriction as to the type of predicate:



- (b) /la ... wala/ occurs with
 1. a multiple subject

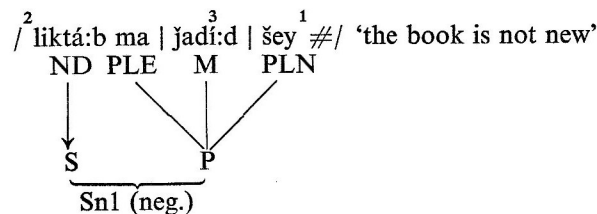


2. a multiple predicate

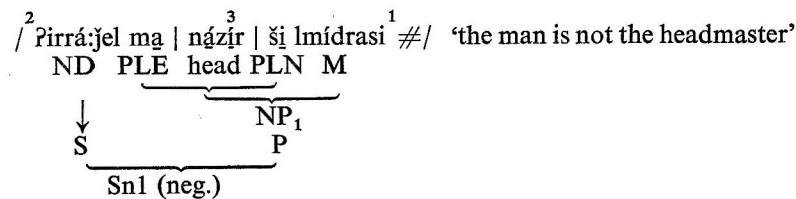


(c) /-šey/, the allomorph of /miš/, occurs as a suffix with all form classes. /ma/, the emphatic particle, may precede an item which is suffixed by /-šey/, according to the following patterns:

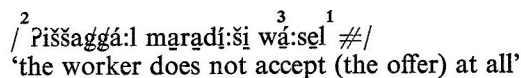
1. if the predicate is one word it occurs between /ma/ and /-šey/:



2. if the predicate is an NP, the head occurs between /ma/ and /-šey/:



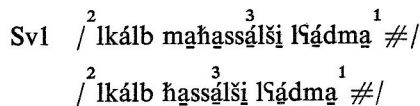
(d) The adverb /wá:səl/ 'at all' occurs only in negative predicates in post-adjectival position. /wá:səl/ presupposes /miš/ or /ma/ and /-šey/:



- (e) /ka:n/ occurs with /-šey/ preceded or unpreceded by /ma/.

17.3. NEGATION IN Sv1 AND Sv2

- (1) /-šey/ preceded or unpreceded by /ma/ occurs with the predictor:



'the dog did not reach the bone'

Sv2 / ²matakilši ³dhá:n ¹ #/
 / ²takilši ³dhá:n ¹ #/
 'do not (2.m.s.) eat fat!'

(2) /la ... wala/ occurs with multiple predicators:

Sv1 / ²Pittilmí:z lá ³kátab | ²wála ²gára ¹nhárdi #/
 'the student neither wrote nor read today'
 Sv2 / ²lá ³titháddat | ²wála ³tháyyes ¹ #/
 'do not (2.m.s.) talk or make noise!'

(3) In Sv1 with multiple subject /la ... wala/ occurs with the subject:

/ ²lá ³dí:b | ²wála ³sšeli:k ¹hni #/
 'there is neither a wolf nor a fox here'

(4) In Sv1 and Sv2 with multiple object /la/ occurs in pre-predicator position and /wala/ occurs before each constituent noun or phrase of the object:

Sv1 / ²Iwád lá ³šrèb wála ²lában | ²wála ³dáwa ¹ #/
 'the boy drank neither milk nor medicine'
 Sv2 / ²lá ³twássex wála ³kútba:tak | ²wála ³xalagá:tak ¹ #/
 'make (2.m.s.) neither your books nor your clothes dirty!'

(5) With one word Sv1 and Sv2 /-šey/ and the combination /ma/ and /šey/ occur in free variation:

Sv1 / ²fhimšey ¹ #/ 'he did not understand'
 / ²mafhimšey ¹ #/
 Sv2 / ²tišábšey ¹ #/ 'do not (2.m.s.) play!'
 / ²matilšábšey ¹ #/

18. INTERROGATION

18.1.

Interrogation in safi:di is signalled by

- (1) Suprasegmental changes
- (2) Segmental signals
- (3) Suprasegmental changes and segmental signals
- (4) Suprasegmental changes and changes in slot position.

18.2.

Sn1, 2 and Sv1, 2 are made interrogative by:

- (1) Change in intonation pattern. In Sn1, 2 and Sv1, 2 from rising-falling or rising-returning to rising:

- | | |
|-----|--|
| Sn1 | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{lh}}\overset{3}{\text{alazó:na}} \overset{1}{\text{mittáxxri}} \# / \text{ 'the bus is late' } \\ / \overset{2}{\text{lh}}\overset{3}{\text{alazó:na}} \overset{3}{\text{mittáxxri}} \ / \text{ 'is the bus late?' } \end{array} \right.$ |
| Sn1 | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{bá:rdi}} \overset{1}{\text{}} \# / \text{ 'cold (f.s.)' } \\ / \overset{2}{\text{bá:rdi}} \overset{3}{\text{}} \ / \text{ 'is it (f.) cold?' } \end{array} \right.$ |
| Sv1 | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{lgúton}} \overset{3}{\text{náwwar}} \overset{1}{\text{}} \# / \text{ 'the cotton blossomed' } \\ / \overset{2}{\text{lgúton}} \overset{3}{\text{náwwar}} \overset{3}{\text{}} \ / \text{ 'did the cotton blossom?' } \end{array} \right.$ |
| Sv1 | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{hayízmag}} \overset{1}{\text{}} \# / \text{ 'he will be angry' } \\ / \overset{2}{\text{hayízmag}} \overset{3}{\text{}} \ / \text{ 'will he be angry?' } \end{array} \right.$ |
| Sn2 | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{yá}} \overset{3}{\text{daššá:ṣ}} \overset{2}{\text{}} \# / \text{ 'you (m.s.) greedy fellow!' } \\ / \overset{2}{\text{yá}} \overset{3}{\text{daššá:ṣ}} \overset{3}{\text{}} \ / \text{ '(are you) calling me greedy?' (reiterated question) } \end{array} \right.$ |

19. SAMPLE saʕi:di TEXT

To illustrate the application of the saʒi:di syntactic system outlined in this study, the following sentences are analyzed in terms of the categories I defined. The text is a short folk tale which consists of ten sentences.

In every sentence, the major constituent elements (constructs, phrases, clauses) are marked off by the symbols used in the discussion of *sq̣si:di* syntax. When the same sentence contains two or more elements of the same type, the symbols referring to them are distinguished by numerals in parentheses.

The sentence type is mentioned at the end of the translation of each sentence. Literal translation is bracketed. A plus sign is used to separate the immediate constituents of a construction. A colon is to be read as "consisting of".

THE GREEDY WOMAN

1. / ²sálli ³Sannábi ¹Ihá:dey #/
'Glorify (2.m.s.) [pray on] the guiding prophet!'

Imperative sentence: verbal construct 1 + prepositional phrase, with /2 3 1 #/ intonation contour.

VCt1: verb + subject pronoun

verb: /salli/ 'pray' + subject pronoun /Ø/ (2.m.s.).

prep P: preposition + nominal phrase 3

preposition: /ʕala/ 'on' (allomorph /ʕa-/ before /ʔil-/)

nominal phrase 3: definite noun /Pinnabi/ + nominal modifier (in appositionive relationship) /lha:dey/ 'the guiding'.

2. / ká:n fí: wíhda mára | minílli yíhbu lma:l #/
 ICI prep P
 'There was a woman [one woman] who loved money'

Verbal transform of the declarative non-verbal sentence: independent clause + prepositional phrase with /232 | 231 #/ intonation contours.

- ICI: verb + prepositional construct + nominal phrase 2
verb: /ka:n/ 'was'
prepositional construct: preposition /fi-/ 'in' + non-subject pronoun (allocation) /Ø/ (3.m.s.)
nominal phrase 2: modifier: cardinal numerical adjective /wíhda/ 'one' (f.s.) + noun head: definite noun (by position) /māra/ 'woman'.
 prep P: preposition + /Pillel/-phrase.
preposition: /min/ 'from'
/Pillel/-phrase: /Pillel/ + predicator + object
relative /Pillel/: 'who' (pl.)
predicator: verbal construct 1
 subject pronoun + verb /y[~]hibb[~]u/ 'they love'
object: definite noun /lma:l/ '(the) money'

3. / ²tímlek nittā:l ³sāmen kabí:r ¹#/
 'She owned [owns] a big jar of cooking fat'

Declarative verbal sentence, with /231 #/ intonation contour.

- predicator*: verbal construct 1 /ti[~]mlek/ 'she owns'
object: nominal phrase 2:
 head: nominal phrase 1 /nittā:l/ 'jar' + /samen/ 'cooking fat' (in genitival relationship)
 modifier: /kabi:r/ 'big'.

4. / ²Pinnittā:l mšállag šālhé:t ¹#/
 'The jar (being) hung on the wall'

Declarative non-verbal sentence with /231 #/ intonation contour.

- subject*: definite noun /Pinnittā:l/ 'the jar'
predicate: adjectival phrase:
 adjective + adverbial phrase
 adjective: /mšállag/ 'hung (m.s.)'
adverbial phrase: preposition + noun
 preposition /ša-/ 'on'
 noun: definite noun /lhé:t/ 'the wall'

5. / ²gá:lat ³lnáfshi | ²yá ³bét ¹#/
 ICI (1) ICI (2)
 'She said to herself, "O girl!"'

Vocative sentence: two independent clauses, phonologically linked, with /232 | 231 #/ intonation contours.

ICl (1): predicator + adverbial phrase

predicator: verbal construct 1: /ga:ḷat/ 'she said'

adverbial phrase:

preposition: /l-/ 'to'

noun: /nafshi/ 'herself'

ICl (2): vocative clause: predicate /ya/ vocative particle + subject: noun /bet/ 'girl'.

6. /²nbí:ʃ samná:tēy | ³wništari bágarā ²ʃaftā:ní¹ #/

ICl (1)

ICl (2)

'I sell my cooking fat and buy a lean cow'

A declarative verbal sentence: two independent clauses phonologically and lexically linked, with /232 | 231 #/ intonation contours.

ICl (1): predicator + object

predicator: verbal construct 1

verbal construct 1 /nbí:ʃ/ 'I sell' /n-/ l.s. (subject pronoun)

+ /bi:ʃ/

object: nominal construct

noun /samná:t/ 'cooking fat' (pl.) + /-ey/ (l.s.) non-subject pronoun (allocation).

ICl (2): linker + predicator + object

linker: /w-/ 'and'

predicator: verbal construct 1

verbal construct 1 /ništari/ 'I buy' /ni-/ l.s. (subject pronoun) +

/-štari/

object: nominal phrase 2

nominal phrase 2: noun + modifier

noun: /bágarā/ 'cow'

modifier: /ʃaftā:ní/ 'lean (f.s.)'

7. /²nsammínhi | ³winbí:ʃhi | ²winjávwez wáladi bét ³lʃúmdi¹ #/

ICl (1)

ICl (2)

ICl (3)

'I fatten it, sell it and make my son marry the Omda's [i.e., the Mayor's] daughter'

Declarative verbal sentence: three independent clauses phonologically and lexically linked, with /232 | 232 | 231 #/ intonation contours.

ICl (1): verbal construct 2

verbal construct 2: subject pronoun + verb + object pronoun

/ṇsammiṇhi/ 'I fatten it (f.)'

ICl (2): linker + verbal construct 2

linker: /wi-/ 'and'

verbal construct 2: /ṇbi:ʃ̣hi/ [I sell it]

ICI (3): linker + verbal construct 1 + object 1 + object 2

linker /wi-/ 'and'

verbal construct 1 /n[~]jawwez/ 'I cause to marry'

object 1: indefinite noun /waladi/ 'my son'

object 2: nominal phrase 1: indefinite noun /bet/ 'daughter' + definite noun /lsumdi/ 'the mayor'.

8. / ²lāw gállat ³ħayá:hi | ²nūdrúbħa ³bilṣasá:yí ¹ #/
DCI ICI

'If she is impolite [lessened her shyness], I beat her with the stick'

Declarative verbal sentence: one dependent clause + one independent clause, with /232 | 231 #/ intonation contours.

DCI: subordinating conjunction + predicator + object

subordinating conjunction: /law/ 'if'

predicator: verbal construct 1

/gall[~]at/ 'she lessened'

object: nominal construct: noun /ħaya:-/ + non-subject pronoun (allocation) /-hi/ (3.f.s.).

ICI: verbal construct 2 + adverbial phrase

verbal construct 2: /nū[~]drúb[~]ħa/ 'I beat her'

adverbial phrase: preposition + definite noun

preposition: /bi-/ 'with'

definite noun: /lṣasá:yí/ 'the stick'

9. / ²šāwwaħat ³lṣasá:yí | ²kāsarāt ³ṭinnittá:l ¹ #/
ICI (1) ICI (2)

'she waved the stick and broke the jar.'

Declarative verbal sentence: two independent clauses, phonologically linked, with /232 / 231 #/ intonation contours.

ICI (1) predicator + object

predicator: verbal construct 1 /sawwaħ[~]at/ 'she waved'

object: definite noun /lṣasá:yí/ 'the stick'

ICI (2) predicator + object

predicator: verbal construct 1 /kāsār[~]at/ 'she broke'

object: definite noun /ṭinnittá:l/ 'the jar'

10. / ²māħassalátšī ³ħá:jī ¹ #/
'She gained nothing'

Negative declarative verbal sentence, with /231 #/ intonation contour. Emphatic particle + negative particle + predicator + object.

emphatic particle: /ma/

negative particle: /-šey/

predicator: verbal construct 1

/ħassalʔat/ 'she gained'

object: indefinite noun /ħa:ʃi/ 'thing'

APPENDIX TO PHONOTACTICS

Notes:

- 1) The object of the following listing is to illustrate the attested consonant clusters in saʕi:di.
- 2) Nouns and adjectives in the tables, unless otherwise indicated, are masculine (m.), singular (s).
- 3) Saʕi:di verbs, whether in the perfective or the imperfective, the active or the passive forms, have 3.m.s. subject pronouns.

TABLE XX

Initial Consonant Clusters: C₁C₂-

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/tk/	/tkatab/	'was written'	/fn/	/fnɑ:r/	'in a dilemma'
/tʔ/	/tʔassɑr/	'felt sympathy'	/fr/	/freg/	'finished'
/tf/	/tfarrat/	'went for a walk'	/fw/	/fwiʃʃu/	'in his face'
/ts/	/tsallam/	'received'	/fy/	/fyaddu/	'in his hand (f.)'
/tʃ/	/tʃatam/	'was insulted'	/st/	/stannow/	'wait (pl.)!'
/tx/	/txallaf/	'stayed behind'	/sf/	/sfu:f/	'lines'
/th/	/thes/	'you (m.s.) feel'	/sx/	/sxu:r/	'rocks'
/th/	/thammal/	'was left'	/sh/	/shu:n/	'plates'
/tb/	/tbassɑr/	'contemplated'	/sh/	/sher/	'kept awake'
/tg/	/tgabɑs/	'was picked'	/sb/	/sbeħ/	'got up (in the morning)'
/tz/	/tzabbat/	'got dirty'	/sd/	/sdɑ:ʃ/	'headache'
/tj/	/tjalad/	'was lashed'	/sg/	/sgu:r/	'hawks'
/tg/	/tgali/	'was boiled'	/sj/	/sju:n/	'prisons'
/tʃ/	/tʃallag/	'was hung'	/sʃ/	/sʃer/	'became wild'
/tm/	/tmɑ:ni/	'assurance (f.)'	/sm/	/smeʃ/	'heard'
/tn/	/tnɑsɑl/	'was pulled'	/sn/	/snu:n/	'teeth'
/tl/	/tlaJam/	'was embarrassed'	/sl/	/slem/	'emerged safe'
/tr/	/trasad/	'was stunned'	/sr/	/sru:r/	'pleasure'
/tw/	/twassat/	'mediated'	/sw/	/swer/	'(was) defeaned'
/ty/	/tyu:s/	'male goats'	/sy/	/syu:l/	'floods'
/kt/	/ktɑ:r/	'much (pl.)'	/ʃt/	/ʃtu:t/	'shores'
/kf/	/kfu:f/	'palms'	/ʃk/	/ʃku:k/	'doubts'
/ks/	/ksu:r/	'parts'	/ʃf/	/ʃfey/	'became well (after sickness)'
/kb/	/kba:r/	'big (pl.)'	/ʃh/	/ʃhu:r/	'months'
/kd/	/kdeb/	'told lies'	/ʃb/	/ʃbeʃ/	'ate enough'
/kʃ/	/kʃu:b/	'heels'	/ʃd/	/ʃda:d/	'strong (pl.)'
/km/	/kma:m/	'sleeves'	/ʃg/	/ʃgey/	'became miserable'
/kn/	/kna:si/	'trash (f.)'	/ʃm/	/ʃmu:ʃ/	'candles'
/kl/	/klibbi/	'dogs'	/ʃr/	/ʃreb/	'drank'
/kr/	/kru:b/	'disasters'	/ʃw/	/ʃwab/	'clubs (i.e., big sticks)'
/kw/	/kwa:m/	'heaps'	/ʃy/	/ʃyal/	'loads'
/ky/	/kya:s/	'sacks'	/xf/	/xfey/	'disappeared'
/ft/	/ftu:h/	'success'	/xd/	/xdu:d/	'cheeks'
/fk/	/fka:r/	'a male's name'	/xz/	/xzey/	'felt ashamed'
/fʔ/	/fʔardu/	'in his land'	/xj/	/xjel/	'felt shy'
/fs/	/fsinni/	'in a tooth (f.)'	/xm/	/xmu:r/	'drinks'
/fʃ/	/fʃaʃ/	'lungs'	/xl/	/xley/	'became free (from work)'
/fx/	/fxe:mi/	'in a tent (f.)'	/xr/	/xru:j/	'sacks'
/fh/	/fhem/	'felt thirsty'	/xy/	/xya:ra/	'a cucumber'
/fh/	/fhem/	'understood'	/ht/	/htat/	'pieces'
/fb/	/fbaladu/	'in his town'	/hk/	/hka:yi/	'story (f.)'
/fd/	/fdɑ:ru/	'in his home'	/hf/	/hfey/	'did his utmost'
/fg/	/fger/	'became poor'	/hs/	/hsu:n/	'forts'
/fz/	/fzɑ:ʃ/	'terrible (pl.)'	/hb/	/hba:l/	'ropes'
/fj/	/fjanni/	'in a paradise (f.)'			
/fg/	/fgalltu/	'in his wheat'			
/fʃ/	/fʃe:nu/	'in his eye (f.)'			
/fm/	/fma:lu/	'in his property'			

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/hd/	/hdi/	'singing (for camels)'	/gn/	/gneʃ/	'felt satisfied'
/hg/	/hgu:g/	'rights'	/gl/	/gla:m/	'pencils'
/hz/	/hza:b/	'parties'	/gr/	/gres/	'got stung'
/hj/	/hju:r/	'laps'	/gw/	/gwar/	'forehead'
/hm/	/hmeɪ/	'became warm'	/gy/	/gya:m/	'rising'
/hl/	/hlem/	'dreamt'	/zf/	/zfeɪ/	'was disgusted'
/hr/	/hrem/	'was prohibited'	/zg/	/zge:m/	'small mouse'
/hy/	/hya:g/	'fried onion'	/zʃ/	/zʃem/	'became naughty'
/ht/	/htak/	'scandals'	/zm/	/zmeɪ/	'became angry'
/hb/	/hbər/	'pieces (of meat)'	/zl/	/zleg/	'slipped (in speech)'
/hd/	/hdeɪ/	'became quiet'	/zr/	/zra:r/	'button'
/hz/	/hzəl/	'became lean'	/zw/	/zwa:r/	'throats'
/hj/	/hju:m/	'attack'	/jʃ/	/jʃel/	'felt scared'
/hm/	/hmu:m/	'worries (n.)'	/js/	/jsu:r/	'bridges'
/hn/	/hni/	'here'	/jh/	/jhem/	'showed greed'
/bt/	/btu:n/	'bellies'	/jb/	/jba:l/	'mountains'
/bk/	/bkal/	'water jars'	/jg/	/jgu:l/	'points (in a local game)'
/bf/	/bfilli/	'with a cork (f.)'	/jm/	/jmaʃ/	'weeks (lit. Fridays)'
/bs/	/bsu:r/	'with a fence'	/jn/	/jna:n/	'madness'
/bʃ/	/bʃa:ra/	'good news (f.)'	/jr/	/jra:b/	'a kind of case'
/bx/	/bxel/	'became miserly'	/gf/	/gfel/	'took a nap'
/bh/	/bha:r/	'seas'	/gʃ/	/gʃey/	'fainted'
/bh/	/bhimmi/	'with zeal (f.)'	/gn/	/gney/	'became rich'
/bd/	/bdam/	'with blood'	/gl/	/gley/	'became costly'
/bg/	/bgubba/	'with a dome (f.)'	/gr/	/gri/	'glue'
/bz/	/bzimmi/	'with honesty (f.)'	/gw/	/gwal/	'beasts'
/bj/	/bjalaʃ/	'indifferently'	/ʃf/	/ʃfey/	'became beefy'
/bg/	/bga:l/	'mules'	/ʃʃ/	/ʃʃeg/	'loved'
/bʃ/	/bʃimmi/	'with a turban (f.)'	/ʃb/	/ʃba:d/	'people (lit. wor-shippers)'
/bm/	/bmayyi/	'with water (f.)'	/ʃg/	/ʃgu:l/	'minds'
/bn/	/bnə:r/	'with fire (f.)'	/ʃz/	/ʃza:l/	'luggage'
/bl/	/bleɪ/	'became torn out'	/ʃj/	/ʃju:l/	'calves'
/br/	/bru:j/	'towers'	/ʃm/	/ʃmey/	'became blind'
/bw/	/bwiʃʃu/	'with his face'	/ʃn/	/ʃnu:g/	'necks'
/by/	/byaddu/	'with his hand (f.)'	/ʃl/	/ʃley/	'got higher'
/dk/	/dku:r/	'males'	/ʃr/	/ʃreg/	'sweated'
/df/	/dfey/	'felt warm'	/ʃy/	/ʃya:l/	'children'
/dʃ/	/dʃeʃ/	'showed greed'	/mt/	/mtamman/	'priced (adj.)'
/dh/	/dheʃ/	'was stunned'	/mk/	/mkaffey/	'enough'
/db/	/dba:ʃa/	'hyenas'	/mʔ/	/mʔammel/	'hopeful'
/dʃ/	/dʃi/	'prayer'	/mf/	/mfatteʃ/	'inspector'
/dm/	/dmu:ʃ/	'tears (n.)'	/ms/	/msəddeɪ/	'rusty'
/dr/	/dreɪ/	'got accustomed'	/mʃ/	/mʃammer/	'ready to work'
/dw/	/dweɪ/	'inkpots'	/mx/	/mxəllət/	'mixed'
/dy/	/dya:r/	'homes'	/mh/	/mhəmmaʃ/	'baked'
/gt/	/gtər/	'caves'	/mh/	/mhəbbal/	'foolish'
/gf/	/gfaf/	'baskets (of a local type)'	/mb/	/mbaddal/	'deformed'
/gs/	/gsu:r/	'palaces'	/md/	/mda:ger/	'persistent'
/gb/	/gbu:r/	'graves'	/mg/	/mgassam/	'divided'
/gd/	/gder/	'could (do)'	/mz/	/mzayyen/	'hair dresser'
/gm/	/gma:ʃ/	'cloth'			

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/mj/	/mjaħħem/	'bully'	/rf/	/rfeʕ/	'became lean'
/mg/	/mgayyar/	'changed'	/rs/	/rsey/	'matured'
/mʕ/	/mʕaffen/	'rotten'	/rh/	/rħa:yi/	'stone-mill (f.)'
/mn/	/mnawwer/	'lit'	/rb/	/rbeħ/	'profitted'
/ml/	/mlattam/	'veiled'	/rd/	/rdeʕ/	'sucked (milk)'
/mr/	/mrajjel/	'manly'	/rg/	/rga:d/	'sleep (n.)'
/mw/	/mwattag/	'well fixed'	/rz/	/rzeg/	'earned (living)'
/my/	/myu:ʕa/	'looseness (f.)'	/rj/	/rjey/	'became promising'
/nt/	/ntey/	'females'	/rʕ/	/rʕa:yi/	'care (f.)'
/nk/	/nkammell/	'continue (1.m.s.)'	/rm/	/rmed/	'had a pink eye'
/nʔ/	/nʔammel/	'hope (1.m.s.)'	/ry/	/rya:li/	'saliva (f.)'
/nf/	/nfatteʃ/	'inspect (1.m.s.)'	/wt/	/wtey/	'degenerated'
/ns/	/nsattef/	'arrange (1.m.s.)'	/wk/	/wka:li/	'inn (f.)'
/nx/	/nxa:li/	'wheat crust (f.)'	/ws/	/wseʕ/	'became wider'
/nħ/	/nħalley/	'decorate (1.m.s.)'	/wʃ/	/wʃa:yi/	'treachery (f.)'
/nh/	/nhaffet/	'feel weak (1.m.s.)'	/wx/	/wxem/	'became idle'
/nb/	/nbayyen/	'uncover (1.m.s.)'	/wh/	/whel/	'met a problem or walked'
/nd/	/ndalley/	'lower (1.m.s.)'	/wb/	/wbatta/	'and a duck (f.)'
/ng/	/nganneb/	'feel cold (1.m.s.)'	/wd/	/wda:n/	'ears'
/nz/	/nzalleg/	'trick (1.m.s.)'	/wg/	/wgubba/	'and a dome (f.)'
/nj/	/njey/	'come (1.m.s.)'	/wz/	/wzalla:t/	'and sins'
/ng/	/nganneyy/	'sing (1.m.s.)'	/wj/	/wja:ʕ/	'pains'
/nʕ/	/nʕa:fer/	'try (1.m.s.)'	/wg/	/wgalli/	'and grain'
/nm/	/nmalles/	'stroke (1.m.s.)'	/wʕ/	/wʕer/	'became difficult'
/nl/	/nlef/	'go round (1.m.s.)'	/wm/	/wmayyi/	'and water (f.)'
/nr/	/nrawweħ/	'go home (1.m.s.)'	/wn/	/wna:ʃi/	'cranes'
/nw/	/nwattay/	'bow (1.m.s.)'	/wl/	/wla:d/	'children'
/ny/	/nya:bi/	'delegating (f.)'	/wr/	/wriggi/	'papers'
/lt/	/lta:m/	'veil'	/wy/	/wyammu/	'and towards him'
/lk/	/lkem/	'ate too much'	/yt/	/ytol/	'looks (v.)'
/lʔ/	/lʔahly/	'to my family'	/yk/	/ykawwem/	'heaps (v.)'
/lf/	/lfa:ga/	'hiccup (f.)'	/yʔ/	/yʔammel/	'hopes (v.)'
/ls/	/lseʕ/	'was stung'	/yf/	/yfassar/	'explains'
/lʃ/	/lʃiggu/	'to his quarter'	/ys/	/ysed/	'blocks (v.)'
/lx/	/lxa:ley/	'to my (maternal) uncle'	/yʃ/	/yʃem/	'smells (v.)'
/lh/	/lhag/	'reached'	/yx/	/yxalley/	'keeps'
/lh/	/lhəʔ/	'swallowed'	/yħ/	/yħalley/	'sweatens'
/lb/	/lbittu/	'to his daughter'	/yh/	/yheb/	'explodes'
/ld/	/ldə:ru/	'to his house'	/yb/	/yber/	'treats gently'
/lg/	/lgey/	'found'	/yd/	/ydeħ/	'works hard'
/lz/	/lzem/	'followed closely'	/yg/	/ygot/	'steals'
/lj/	/lja:m/	'reins'	/yz/	/yzqn/	'thinks'
/lg/	/lgey/	'was cancelled'	/yj/	/yji:b/	'brings'
/lʕ/	/lʕeb/	'played'	/yg/	/ygawwel/	'becomes greedy or fierce'
/lm/	/lma:mi/	'trash (f.)'	/yʕ/	/yʕayyet/	'calls'
/ln/	/lna:su/	'to his people'	/ym/	/ymawwet/	'kills'
/lr/	/lrəbbu/	'to his God'	/yn/	/ynagget/	'drops (v.) (liquid)'
/lw/	/lwad/	'the boy'	/yl/	/ylem/	'collects'
/ly/	/lya:ga/	'collar (f.)'	/yr/	/yrammeħ/	'trots (v.)'
/rt/	/rtə:l/	'pounds'	/yw/	/ywaddey/	'takes (to somebody)'
/rk/	/rkeb/	'mounted'			

TABLE XXI

Medial Consonant Clusters: -C₁C₂- (Geminates are included)

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/tt/	/hitti/	'piece (f.)'	/sf/	/waʃfa/	'prescription (f.)'
/tf/	/ʕatfa/	'lane (f.)'	/ss/	/hissu/	'his voice'
/ts/	/ʕatsi/	'cough (f.)'	/sx/	/ma:sa/	'distasteful (f.)'
/tʃ/	/hatʃog/	'she will drop in'	/sh/	/mashi/	'erasing (f.)'
/th/	/fathi/	'opening (f.)'	/sh/	/na:shi/	'her family'
/th/	/fa:thi/	'left it (f.) or her'	/sb/	/naʃba/	'pavilion (f.) (for funeral ceremony)'
/tb/	/kitbi/	'habit (f.)'	/sd/	/gaʃdu/	'his purpose'
/tg/	/wa:tgi/	'well fixed (f.)'	/sj/	/yisjed/	'yields'
/tz/	/raʔzi/	'trot (f.) (by donkey)'	/sg/	/paʃga/	'smaller'
/tʃ/	/ba:tʃi/	'smart (f.)'	/sʕ/	/yisʕar/	'becomes fierce'
/tm/	/katmi/	'stuffy (f.)'	/sm/	/Pismu/	'his name'
/tn/	/fitni/	'beauty (f.)'	/sn/	/na:sni/	'our family'
/tl/	/gatli/	'beating (f.)'	/sl/	/yisley/	'fries'
/tr/	/guʔra/	'hole (f.) (used by reptiles)'	/sr/	/ʕisri/	'difficult (f.) to do'
/tw/	/fatwa/	'counsel (f.)'	/sw/	/yiswa/	'equals (v.)'
/ty/	/ratyi/	'scolding (f.)'	/sy/	/nasyi/	'forgetting (f.)'
/kt/	/nukti/	'joke (f.)'	/ʃt/	/giʃta/	'cream (f.)'
/kk/	/dikki/	'bench (f.)'	/ʃʃ/	/fiʃʃi/	'lung (f.)'
/ks/	/naksi/	'reverse (f.)'	/ʃh/	/ri:ʃhi/	'its (f.) feathers'
/kʃ/	/nakʃi/	'stroke (f.) (by a bird's beak)'	/ʃd/	/yiʃdey/	'sings'
/kh/	/fa:khi/	'fruit (f.)'	/ʃg/	/yiʃga/	'becomes miserable'
/kb/	/rukba/	'knee (f.)'	/ʃm/	/baʃmi/	'eating (f.) (much)'
/kʕ/	/rakʕa/	'bow (f.) (in prayer)'	/ʃn/	/ʕiʃni/	'we lived'
/km/	/ʕakma/	'arrest (f.)'	/ʃl/	/yiʃley/	'aches (v.)'
/kn/	/lakni/	'accent (f.)'	/ʃr/	/kaʃra/	'bad omen (f.)'
/kl/	/bukli/	'water jar (f.)'	/ʃw/	/naʃwey/	'my (light) stick'
/kr/	/ʕikri/	'impure (f.)'	/ʕt/	/naʕtu/	'his lie (f.)'
/ky/	/bakyi/	'crying (f.)'	/ʕk/	/naʕkom/	'your (pl.) lies'
/ʔs/	/baʔsu/	'his prestige'	/ʕh/	/naʕhi/	'her lies'
/ʔm/	/luʔmu/	'his cunning'	/ʕn/	/naʕni/	'our lies'
/ft/	/lifti/	'turnip (f.)'	/xt/	/baxtu/	'his luck'
/ff/	/haffi/	'trace (f.)'	/xf/	/yixfa/	'disappears'
/fs/	/nafsu/	'himself'	/xx/	/baʃxa/	'small amount of liquid (f.)'
/fʃ/	/ʕaʃsu/	'his furniture'	/xb/	/yuxbət/	'beats (v.)'
/fx/	/nafxa/	'haughtiness (f.)'	/xd/	/ya:xdow/	'they take'
/fh/	/nafhi/	'grant (f.)'	/xz/	/yixzow/	'they feel ashamed'
/fh/	/ʃa:ʃhi/	'he saw her (f.)'	/xm/	/faxma/	'luxurious (f.)'
/fd/	/nafdi/	'escape (f.)'	/xl/	/naxli/	'palm tree (f.)'
/fg/	/yifgaʕ/	'deflates'	/xr/	/nixri/	'(unguarded) wealth (f.)'
/fz/	/laʔzu/	'his word'	/xw/	/rixwa/	'soft (f.)'
/fn/	/hiʔni/	'handful (f.)'	/xy/	/Piʔyi/	'plot (f.)'
/fi/	/gifle:n/	'two locks'	/ht/	/balahtu/	'his date (f.)'
/fr/	/jaʔra/	'untidy (f.)'	/hk/	/yiʔkey/	'tells a story'
/fy/	/ha:fyi/	'bare footed (f.)'	/hf/	/yihfi/	'becomes bare-footed'
/st/	/wa:sta/	'mediation (f.)'			
/sk/	/miski:n/	'miserable'			

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/ħs/	/laħsi/	'very small amount (f.)'	/dd/	/šaddi/	'pull (f.)'
/ħš/	/maħšey/	'stuffed'	/dg/	/yidgen/	'shows skill'
/ħh/	/siħhi/	'health (f.)'	/dġ/	/yidġey/	'prays (v.)'
/ħh/	/sama:ħhi/	'her forgiveness'	/dm/	/yidmey/	'bleeds'
/ħb/	/suħba/	'friendship (f.)'	/dl/	/badli/	'suit (f.)'
/ħd/	/wiħdi/	'one (f.)'	/dr/	/buḍra/	'powder (f.)'
/ħg/	/saħga/	'crushing (f.)'	/dy/	/na:dyi/	'a female's name'
/ħj/	/miħjar/	'query'	/gt/	/yigtaġi/	'cuts'
/ħm/	/laħmi/	'meat (f.)'	/gf/	/wa:gfa/	'standing (f.)'
/ħn/	/miħni/	'disaster (f.)'	/gs/	/yigsow/	'they become cruel'
/ħl/	/waħli/	'pitfall (f.)'	/gš/	/lagšu/	'his fun'
/ħw/	/yiħwey/	'he works wonders'	/gh/	/zo:gha/	'her taste'
/ħy/	/ma:ħyi/	'ignorant (f.)'	/gb/	/nagbu/	'his nickname'
/ht/	/jihtu/	'his native place (f.)'	/gd/	/yigdar/	'can do'
/hf/	/lahfi/	'eagerness (f.)'	/gg/	/ħaggey/	'my right'
/hh/	/ja:hhi/	'her prestige'	/gz/	/yigzaġi/	'feels disgusted'
/hb/	/wahbi/	'tip (f.)'	/gl/	/yiglaġi/	'pulls out'
/hd/	/yihdi/	'he becomes quiet'	/gr/	/yigrow/	'they read'
/hz/	/yihzel/	'jokes (v.)'	/gw/	/yigwow/	'they become strong'
/hm/	/fahmey/	'my understanding'	/gy/	/ba:gyi/	'remaining (f.)'
/hn/	/ja:hni/	'our influence'	/zt/	/mi:ztu/	'his worth (f.)'
/hl/	/Pahley/	'my family'	/zf/	/yizfat/	'becomes bored'
/hr/	/mahrey/	'well boiled'	/zh/	/yizhi/	'shines'
/hw/	/yihwa/	'likes'	/zb/	/ħizbe:n/	'two parties'
/hy/	/la:hyi/	'indifferent (f.)'	/zg/	/rizgu/	'his earnings'
/bt/	/jibtu/	'I brought it (m.)'	/zz/	/ša:zzi/	'queer (f.)'
/bk/	/yibkey/	'cries'	/zġ/	/yizġow/	'they make noise (by talking)'
/bs/	/ħabsi/	'imprisonment (f.)'	/zš/	/yizšag/	'shouts'
/bš/	/ħabši/	'bite (f.)'	/zm/	/yizmag/	'becomes angry'
/bx/	/labxa/	'paste (f.)'	/zn/	/ħuznu/	'his sorrow'
/bh/	/nabhi/	'howl (f.)'	/zl/	/yizleg/	'slips'
/bh/	/še:bhi/	'her grey hair'	/zr/	/muzrey/	'disgraceful'
/bb/	/ħabbi/	'kiss (f.)'	/zw/	/baḡzwey/	'my top (toy)'
/bd/	/libdi/	'local head dress (f.)'	/jt/	/ħa:jtey/	'my thing (f.)'
/bg/	/yibga/	'remains'	/jf/	/yijfi/	'becomes rough'
/bz/	/yibzel/	'gives generously'	/js/	/ħa:jsu/	'his frivolity'
/bj/	/kabji/	'lame (f.)'	/jh/	/maza:jhi/	'her temper'
/bg/	/yibgey/	'he bullies others'	/jb/	/ħa:jbey/	'my eye lid'
/bš/	/ra:bša/	'a female's name'	/jz/	/yijzow/	'they reward'
/bn/	/jibni/	'cheese (f.) or we brought'	/jj/	/ħijji/	'reason (f.)'
/bl/	/ħabli/	'stupid (f.)'	/jġ/	/na:jšu/	'his hamlet'
/br/	/huḅra/	'piece of fish or meat (f.)'	/jm/	/ħa:jmi/	'attack (f.)'
/by/	/ħabya:n/	'beggarly'	/jn/	/ħijnu/	'his (speedy) camels'
/df/	/yidfi/	'feels warm'	/jl/	/yijley/	'polishes'
/dš/	/yidšaġi/	'shows greed'	/jr/	/yijrey/	'runs'
/dx/	/yudxol/	'comes in'	/jw/	/ša:jwa/	'dried dates (f.)'
/dh/	/madħu/	'his praise'	/gf/	/yigfa/	'takes a nap'
/dh/	/nadhi/	'call (f.)'	/gs/	/magša/	'stomach ache (f.)'
/db/	/yidbey/	'he crawls'	/gš/	/yigši/	'laughs heartily'
			/gh/	/maša:gha/	'her gold ornaments'
			/gz/	/yigzel/	'spins'

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/gɔ/	/bagga/	'trick (f.)'	/ng/	/yungol/	'gets crowded'
/gm/	/yigma/	'faints'	/nɔ/	/ganɔa:n/	'satisfied'
/gn/	/yigni/	'becomes rich'	/nn/	/sinni/	'tooth (f.)'
/gl/	/yigli/	'becomes costly'	/nw/	/yinwey/	'intends'
/gr/	/mugrey/	'tempting'	/lt/	/hi:ltu/	'his trick (f.)'
/gw/	/yigwa/	'likes'	/lk/	/silki/	'matter (f.)'
/ɖt/	/miɖtem/	'dark'	/lf/	/malɖu:g/	'(of cloth) mended'
/ɖk/	/yuvɖkom/	'holds'	/ls/	/mali/	'soft (f.)'
/ɖf/	/guɖɖfu/	'his stick'	/lɖ/	/galɖi/	'missing (f.) a target'
/ɖs/	/yivɖsey/	'disobeys'	/lx/	/malxa/	'bruise (f.)'
/ɖʂ/	/naɖʂi/	'good beating'	/lh/	/milhu/	'his salt'
/ɖh/	/ku:ɖha/	'her elbow'	/lh/	/ga:lihi/	'said it (f.)'
/ɖb/	/liɖbi/	'game (f.)'	/lb/	/galbu/	'his heart'
/ɖd/	/baɖɖdu/	'after him'	/ld/	/jildi/	'piece of leather (f.)'
/ɖʂ/	/naɖʂu/	'gave him a blow'	/lg/	/filgu/	'his lumber'
/ɖm/	/niɖmi/	'blessing (f.)'	/lz/	/yilzeg/	'fixes'
/ɖn/	/juɖni/	'we felt hungry'	/lj/	/yiljem/	'confuses'
/ɖl/	/yiɖli/	'is promoted'	/lg/	/yilgey/	'cancels'
/ɖr/	/yiɖra/	'becomes destitute'	/lɖ/	/ʂalɖi/	'flash (f.)'
/ɖw/	/yiɖwey/	'barks (v.)'	/lm/	/yilmaɖ/	'shines'
/ɖy/	/yiɖyi/	'becomes sick'	/ln/	/gulni/	'said (1.pl.)'
/mt/	/gi:mtu/	'his worth (f.)'	/ll/	/ʂilli/	'sickness (f.)'
/mk/	/la:mkom/	'reproached you (pl.)'	/lw/	/balwa/	'ordeal (f.)'
/ms/	/yimsek/	'catches'	/ly/	/malyi/	'filling (f.)'
/mʂ/	/rimʂu/	'his eye lashes'	/rt/	/ji:rtu/	'his neighbourhood (f.)'
/mh/	/ysa:mhu/	'forgives him'	/rk/	/yirkab/	'mounts'
/mh/	/yimhi/	'becomes liquid'	/rf/	/yirfaɖ/	'lifts up'
/mb/	/sambu/	'dark skinned'	/rs/	/yirsem/	'draws'
/md/	/ɖumdi/	'Omdah (equal to village sherrif)'	/rʂ/	/birʂa:mi/	'pill (f.)'
/mz/	/yimzej/	'mixes'	/rx/	/sarxa/	'cry (f.)'
/mɔ/	/lamɔi/	'polish (f.)'	/rɖ/	/yirɖam/	'shows mercy'
/mm/	/lamm/	'crowd (f.)'	/rh/	/na:rhɔm/	'their fire'
/mn/	/samni/	'cooking fat (f.)'	/rb/	/yurbɔt/	'ties'
/ml/	/ɖamli/	'bad deed (f.)'	/rd/	/girdi/	'(female) monkey'
/mr/	/nimri/	'number (f.)'	/rg/	/zarga/	'blue (f.)'
/mw/	/ʂamwa:h/	'a kind of leather'	/rz/	/yirzaɖ/	'puts down (angrily)'
/my/	/ɖamyi/	'blind (f.)'	/rj/	/yirjaɖ/	'goes back'
/nt/	/ʂanta/	'bag (f.)'	/rg/	/yirgab/	'likes'
/nk/	/bunku/	'his type'	/rɖ/	/yirɖa/	'grazes'
/nf/	/manfi/	'remote place'	/rm/	/yirmey/	'throws'
/ns/	/yinsi/	'forgets'	/rn/	/gurna/	'height (f.)'
/nʂ/	/yinʂey/	'builds'	/rr/	/sɖrra/	'bundle (f.)'
/nx/	/yinxaɖ/	'exaggerates'	/rw/	/yirwey/	'waters (v.)'
/nh/	/minhi/	'grant (f.)'	/ry/	/sa:ryi/	'pole (f.)'
/nh/	/yinhey/	'finishes'	/wt/	/yiwtag/	'becomes fixed'
/nb/	/janbu/	'beside him'	/ws/	/hawsi/	'commotion'
/nd/	/sandi/	'support (f.)'	/wʂ/	/dawʂi/	'noise (f.)'
/ng/	/yungol/	'carries (from place to place)'	/wh/	/lawha/	'twist (f.)'
/nz/	/ʂanzi/	'she goat'	/wj/	/yiwjaɖ/	'aches'
/nj/	/yinji/	'escapes'	/wɖ/	/yiwɖa/	'recalls'
			/ww/	/sawwa/	'cooked'

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/wy/	/ma:wyi/	'(of water melon) not fresh (f.)'	/yg/	/saygɛ:n/	'two goldsmiths'
/yt/	/fa:yti/	'passing by (f.)'	/yɣ/	/sa:yɣu/	'enduring him'
/yk/	/ša:yki/	'thorny (f.)'	/ym/	/ga:ymi/	'departing (f.)'
/yf/	/xa:yfi/	'afraid (f.)'	/yn/	/ša:ynu/	'spoiling him'
/yh/	/ša:yhi/	'her tea'	/yl/	/ša:yli/	'pregnant (f.) <i>or</i> indignant (f.)'
/yb/	/ša:ybi/	'loose (f.)'	/yr/	/fa:yri/	'boiling (f.)'
/yd/	/ga:ydi/	'on fire (f.)'	/yw/	/ɸiywam/	'unhappy (used of days)'
/yg/	/ra:ygi/	'healthy (f.)'	/yy/	/mayyi/	'water (f.)'
/yz/	/fa:ysi/	'a female's name (f.)'			
/yj/	/ha:yji/	'furious (f.)'			

TABLE XXII

Medial Consonant Clusters: -C₁C₁C₂-

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/tff/	/kattfu/	'bind (m.s.) him!'	/xxt/	/təxxtu/	(something)!' 'his blow (f.)'
/tts/	/gattsu/	'immerse (m.s.) him (in a liquid)!'	/xxd/	/waxxdu/	'let (m.s.) him get used (to do something)!' 'make (pl.) them work!'
/ttš/	/fattšu/	'inspect (m.s.) him!'	/xxr/	/səxxru:həm/	'my health' 'her ducks' 'our ducks' 'go (pl.) north!'
/tth/	/mfatthi/	'smart (f.)'	/hht/	/sɪhhtey/	'make (m.s.) him feel eager!'
/ttb/	/kattbu/	'make (m.s.) him write!'	/hfh/	/bāfhfhə/	'let (m.s.) him under-stand!'
/ttg/	/mwattga/	'staying (f.)'	/hfn/	/bāfhfni/	'hurry (pl.)!' 'keep (m.s.) him awake!'
/ttm/	/mɣattmi/	'dark (f.)'	/hfn/	/bāfhfni/	'his cloak' 'liked you (pl.)' 'pick (pl.) them!'
/ttn/	/mattnu/	'make (m.s.) it (m.) tighter!'	/hfr/	/bāfhfrow/	'search (pl.)!' 'use (pl.) manure!'
/ttl/	/mɣattlā:həm/	'delaying (f.) them' 'raining (f.)'	/hhf/	/lahhfuf/	'keep (pl.) wakeful over night!'
/ttr/	/mnatttra/	'let (m.s.) him keep quiet!'	/hhm/	/fahhmu/	'her love' 'hide (pl.) them!'
/kkt/	/sakktu/	'make (m.s.) him stay!'	/hhl/	/sahhlow/	'fold (pl.) them!'
/kkf/	/sakkfu/	'let (m.s.) him ride!'	/hhr/	/sahhru/	'mould (pl.) them!'
/kkb/	/rakkbu/	'make (m.s.) him kneel!'	/bbt/	/jibbtu/	'go (pl.) south!'
/kkɣ/	/rakkɣu/	'his little amount (f.)' 'tread (m.s.) upon it (m.)!'	/bbk/	/habbkom/	'let (m.s.) him be patient!'
/fft/	/hafttu/	'catch (pl.) them!'	/bbs/	/gabbsu:həm/	'clean (pl.) them!'
/ffs/	/saffsu/	'fill (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/bbs/	/gabbsu:həm/	'respect (pl.) them!'
/ffš/	/gaffšu:həm/	'wrapped it (f.)'	/bbš/	/nabbšow/	'stretched it (f.)'
/ffh/	/taffhu/	'save (m.s.) him!'	/bbx/	/sabbxow/	'do (pl.) well!'
/ffd/	/naffdu/	'carry (m.s.) it (m.) out!'	/bbh/	/sabbhəw/	'hurry (pl.) up!'
/ffz/	/naffzu/	'line (m.s.) it (m.) with cement!'	/bbh/	/hubbha/	'equal to us' 'change (pl.) them!'
/ffj/	/xaffju/	'let (m.s.) him mediate!'	/bbd/	/labbdū:həm/	'come (pl.) early!'
/ffɣ/	/saffɣu/	'hide (m.s.) him!'	/bbg/	/tābbgū:həm/	'the cocks' 'his knock (f.)'
/ffn/	/xaffnu/	'stop (pl.) working!'	/bbɣ/	/tābbɣū:həm/	'throw (pl.) (the ball) at them!'
/ffl/	/gafflow/	'let (m.s.) him travel!'	/bbɣ/	/tābbɣū:həm/	'let (pl.) them dance!'
/ffr/	/saffru/	'his share (f.)'	/bbɣ/	/tābbɣū:həm/	'break (pl.) them!'
/sst/	/hissu/	'break (pl.) them!'	/bbɣ/	/tābbɣū:həm/	'give (pl.) her a nickname!'
/ssf/	/gassfu:həm/	'help (m.s.) him!'	/bbɣ/	/tābbɣū:həm/	
/ssb/	/nassbu/	'let (m.s.) him lie!'	/bbɣ/	/tābbɣū:həm/	
/ssd/	/wassdu/	'widen (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/bbɣ/	/tābbɣū:həm/	
/ssɣ/	/wassɣu/	'divide (pl.)!'	/bbɣ/	/tābbɣū:həm/	
/ssm/	/gassmow/	'touched our (feelings)'	/bbɣ/	/tābbɣū:həm/	
/ssn/	/massni/	'catch (m.s.) him!'	/bbɣ/	/tābbɣū:həm/	
/ssl/	/hasslu/	'shorten (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/bbɣ/	/tābbɣū:həm/	
/ssr/	/gassru/	'his agony (f.)'	/bbɣ/	/tābbɣū:həm/	
/šst/	/hašštu/	'dry (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/bbɣ/	/tābbɣū:həm/	
/ššf/	/naššfu/	'make (m.s.) him like	/bbɣ/	/tābbɣū:həm/	
/ššg/	/ʔaššgu/		/bbɣ/	/tābbɣū:həm/	

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/ggd/	/ʒaggdow/	'make (pl.) knots!'	/lld/	/jalldu/	'cover (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/ggm/	/saggmow/	'put (pl.) in front!'	/llg/	/ʒallgow/	'start (pl.) to cook or hang (pl.)!'
/ggn/	/laggnu:hom/	'tell (pl.) them!'	/llq/	/gallʒu:hom/	'pull (pl.) them out!'
/ggl/	/ʒagglu:hom/	'make (pl.) them reasonable!'	/llm/	/ʒallmu/	'teach (m.s.) him!'
/ggr/	/saggrow/	'light (pl.) a fire!'	/rrt/	/garrtow/	'be (pl.) strict!'
/zzg/	/mazgzg/	'tear (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/rrk/	/barrku/	'(of the camel) let (m.s.) it (m.) kneel!'
/zzm/	/ʒazzmow/	'gather (pl.) strength!'	/rrf/	/garrfu/	'make (m.s.) him feel disgusted!'
/zzr/	/ʒazzrow/	'guess (pl.)!'	/rrs/	/garrsu/	'pinch (m.s.) him!'
/jjt/	/hijjtu/	'his ownership paper or his reason (f.)'	/rrš/	/farršu/	'clean (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/jjs/	/hājjsow/	'talk (pl.) nonsense!'	/rrb/	/xarrbu/	'ruin (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/jjh/	/najjhu/	'let (m.s.) him succeed!'	/rrd/	/garrdu/	'don't (m.s.) give him any property!'
/jjh/	/najjhi/	'her gossip'	/rrg/	/šarrgow/	'go (pl.) east!'
/jjb/	/rajjbow/	'talk (pl.) gently!'	/rrj/	/farrju:hom/	'let (pl.) them have a look!'
/jjm/	/rajjmow/	'throw (pl.) rocks!'	/rrg/	/farrgu/	'empty (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/jjl/	/rajjlow/	'act (pl.) like men!'	/rrq/	/marrʒu/	'cut (m.s.) it (m.) to pieces!'
/jjr/	/hājjrow/	'prohibit (pl.)!'	/rrm/	/harrmu/	'make (m.s.) him abstain!'
/ggt/	/daggtu/	'his disaster (f.)'	/wwt/	/siwwtu/	'his body side (f.)'
/ggb/	/raggbu:hom/	'let (pl.) them like (something)!'	/wwd/	/xəwwdow/	'wade (pl.) (in shallow water)!'
/ggr/	/saggru/	'make (m.s.) it (m.) smaller!'	/wwm/	/gawwmu/	'wake (m.s.) him up!'
/ʒʒt/	/ʔaʒiʒʒtu/	'its (m.) rays'	/wwn/	/lawwnu/	'colour (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/ʒʒs/	/naʒʒsu/	'let (m.s.) him sleep!'	/wwl/	/hawwlu:hom/	'change (m.s.) their course!'
/ʒʒb/	/laʒʒbu:/	'let (pl.) him play!'	/wwr/	/səwwru/	'build (m.s.) a fence round it (m.)!'
/ʒʒd/	/baʒʒdu/	'keep (m.s.) him away!'	/yyt/	/xayytu/	'his sister'
/ʒʒm/	/naʒʒmu/	'grind (m.s.) it (m.) to powder!'	/yyk/	/xayykom/	'your (pl.) brother'
/ʒʒr/	/waʒʒru/	'make (m.s.) it (m.) difficult!'	/yyh/	/fayyhu/	'make (m.s.) it (m.) leak (of news)!'
/mmt/	/lammtu/	'his gang'	/yyh/	/zayyhi/	'like her'
/mms/	/həmmsu/	'bake (m.s.) it (m.) well!'	/yyb/	/təyybu/	'cook or cure (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/mmd/	/hammdu/	'keep (m.s.) him at bay!'	/yyd/	/gayydu/	'bind (m.s.) him!'
/mmq/	/lammq/	'polish (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/yyg/	/həyygu/	'add (m.s.) salt to it (m.)!'
/mmn/	/xammnow/	'try (pl.) to guess!'	/yyz/	/mayyow/	'show (pl.) common-sense!'
/mml/	/həmmlu/	'load (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/yyʒ/	/mayyʒu/	'add (m.s.) liquid to it (m.)!'
/mmr/	/sammru/	'nail (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/yym/	/səyydow/	'catch (pl.) fish!'
/nnt/	/fənnntu:hom/	'sort (pl.) them!'	/yyn/	/zayyni/	'like us'
/nnš/	/fannšow/	'go (pl.) to sleep!'	/yyl/	/gayylow/	'have (pl.) a mid-day siesta!'
/nnh/	/fannhi/	'her art'	/yyr/	/təyyru:hom/	'let (pl.) them fly!'
/nnd/	/sanndu/	'support (m.s.) him!'			
/nng/	/xannngu:hom/	'strangle (pl.) them!'			
/llt/	/milltu/	'his type'			
/llk/	/mallku/	'give (m.s.) him chance!'			
/llb/	/gallbow/	'poke (pl.) !'			

TABLE XXIII

Final Consonant Clusters: -C₁C₂

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/tk/	/hatk/	'scandalizing'	/sn/	/hosn/	'beauty'
/tf/	/gatf/	'picking'	/sl/	/fasl/	'class-room'
/ts/	/gats/	'diving'	/sr/	/gasr/	'palace'
/tx/	/latx/	'loose fellow'	/sy/	/hasy/	'irrigation stream'
/th/	/fath/	'opening'	/št/	/xošt/	'small knife'
/tb/	/gotb/	'saintly man'	/šk/	/našk/	'kicking'
/tg/	/fatg/	'hole (in clothes)'	/šć/	/našć/	'small swamp'
/tz/	/ratz/	'trotting'	/šm/	/xašm/	'mouth'
/tš/	/gatš/	'cut (n.)'	/šr/	/našr/	'pain'
/tm/	/xatm/	'seal (n.)'	/šw/	/našw/	'small stick'
/tn/	/batn/	'stomach'	/xt/	/baxt/	'luck'
/tl/	/ratl/	'pound (weight)'	/xs/	/šaxs/	'person'
/tr/	/satr/	'line (n.)'	/xd/	/waxd/	'taking'
/ty/	/šaty/	'giving'	/xš/	/šaxš/	'calling names'
/kt/	/nokt/	'trick (n.)'	/xl/	/naxl/	'palm trees'
/ks/	/šaks/	'opposite (n.)'	/xr/	/faxr/	'boasting'
/kš/	/nakš/	'(of birds) picking with the beak'	/xw/	/raxw/	'soft'
			/xy/	/raxy/	'releasing'
/kb/	/rokb/	'riding'	/ht/	/naht/	'hard work or sculp- ture'
/km/	/bokm/	'mute (pl.)'	/hs/	/bašs/	'search (n.)'
/kl/	/šakl/	'shape (n.)'	/hd/	/lahd/	'death'
/ʔs/	/baʔs/	'sickness'	/hg/	/bašg/	'frowning'
/ʔm/	/loʔm/	'cunning'	/hm/	/fašm/	'coal'
/ft/	/koft/	'smart fellow'	/hn/	/sašn/	'plate'
/fs/	/nafs/	'soul'	/hl/	/fašl/	'big'
/fš/	/gašš/	'arresting'	/hf/	/lahf/	'snatching'
/fx/	/nafx/	'blowing'	/hš/	/nahš/	'biting'
/fh/	/nafh/	'granting'	/hb/	/šohb/	'meteors'
/fd/	/nafd/	'escape (n.)'	/hm/	/fahm/	'understanding'
/fg/	/lafg/	'stitching'	/bt/	/šebt/	'I brought'
/fz/	/həfz/	'preserving'	/bk/	/šabk/	'joining'
/fš/	/rafš/	'raising'	/bs/	/xəbs/	'betrayal'
/fn/	/jəfn/	'eyelid'	/bš/	/nabš/	'unearthing'
/fl/	/gafl/	'shutting'	/bx/	/tašx/	'cooking'
/fr/	/kafr/	'small village'	/bh/	/nabh/	'barking'
/fw/	/šafw/	'pardon'	/bd/	/šabd/	'(of a man) dark in colour or slave'
/fy/	/tafy/	'extinguishing'			
/st/	/dest/	'falling down'	/bz/	/xabz/	'baking'
/sk/	/mask/	'catching'	/bš/	/tašš/	'character'
/sf/	/nasf/	'blowing up'	/bn/	/šobn/	'cowardice'
/sx/	/masx/	'deforming'	/bl/	/gabl/	'before'
/sh/	/mašh/	'erasing'	/br/	/gabr/	'grave'
/sb/	/našb/	'swindling'	/ds/	/rads/	'heaping'
/sd/	/gašd/	'aim'	/dh/	/nadh/	'calling'
/sg/	/lasg/	'sticking'	/db/	/nadb/	'mourning'
/sj/	/nasj/	'weaving'	/dg/	/sedg/	'side (of the face)'
/sš/	/lasš/	'stinging'	/dm/	/radm/	'burying'
/sm/	/gasm/	'dividing'			

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/dr/	/badr/	'full moon'	/mš/	/gamš/	'(sudden) arresting'
/dw/	/ʕudw/	'member (of a group)'	/mx/	/šamx/	'haughtiness'
/dy/	/bani ʕady/	'Beni-Ady': the name of a place in Upper Egypt'	/mh/	/gamh/	'wheat'
			/mg/	/šamg/	'gum'
			/mʕ/	/gomʕ/	'cone'
/gt/	/rogt/	'I became well'	/mn/	/samn/	'cooking fat'
/gf/	/šagf/	'pieces of pottery'	/ml/	/heml/	'load'
/gs/	/rags/	'dancing'	/mr/	/Pamr/	'order' or 'matter'
/gš/	/lagš/	'joking'	/nt/	/sont/	—
/gh/	/nagh/	'aching (of a bruise or wound)'	/nk/	/bank/	'bank'
			/nf/	/šanf/	'kind (n.)'
/gb/	/ʕogb/	'end (n.)'	/ns/	/gans/	'(close) watching'
/gd/	/nagd/	'hole (in cloth)'	/nx/	/fanx/	'cancelling (a contract)'
/gm/	/ragm/	'number'			
/gl/	/nagl/	'copying' or 'moving' (a thing)'	/nh/	/manh/	'granting'
			/nb/	/ʕanb/	'beside or side'
/gr/	/fagr/	'poverty'	/nd/	/ʕend/	'stubbornness or at'
/zt/	/ʕozt/	'I wanted'	/ng/	/šang/	'hanging'
/zf/	/nazf/	'bleeding'	/nz/	/ʕanz/	'goat'
/zh/	/nažh/	'emptying (from liquid)'	/nʕ/	/manʕ/	'preventing'
			/lt/	/gelt/	'I forgave'
/zb/	/heẓb/	'party'	/lk/	/selk/	'wire'
/zg/	/lazg/	'sticking'	/lf/	/šalf/	'feeding'
/zš/	/mazš/	'tearing'	/ls/	/hals/	'misconduct or loose'
/zm/	/ʕazm/	'assurance'	/lh/	/melh/	'salt'
/zl/	/ʕazl/	'separation' or 'dis-missal'	/lb/	/solb/	'steel'
			/ld/	/ʕeld/	'leather'
/zr/	/ʕazr/	'slaying'	/lg/	/felg/	'lumber'
/jt/	/htaʕt/	'I needed'	/lʕ/	/gelʕ/	'sail (n.)'
/jz/	/haʕz/	'detaining'	/lm/	/šelm/	'knowledge'
/jm/	/raʕm/	'throwing rocks'	/rt/	/hert/	'I felt confused'
/jn/	/ʕaʕn/	'making paste'	/rk/	/werk/	'thigh'
/jr/	/haʕr/	'desertion'	/rf/	/sarf/	'spending'
/gd/	/wag̣d/	'villain'	/rs/	/gars/	'pinching'
/gz/	/nag̣z/	'pricking (with a needle)'	/rš/	/garš/	'eating (crunchy foods)'
/gn/	/dog̣n/	'fist'	/rx/	/farx/	'mischievous'
/ʕt/	/beʕt/	'I sold'	/rh/	/farh/	'merriment'
/ʕk/	/kaʕk/	'local type of cakes'	/rb/	/daʕrb/	'street or beating'
/ʕf/	/goʕf/	'stick'	/rd/	/gerd/	'monkey'
/ʕš/	/naʕš/	'(good) beating' or 'coffin'	/rg/	/farg/	'difference'
			/rz/	/farz/	'sorting'
/ʕb/	/šaʕb/	'nation'	/rj/	/berj/	'tower'
/ʕd/	/baʕd/	'after'	/rʕ/	/ferʕ/	'branch'
/ʕg/	/laʕg/	'licking'	/rm/	/garm/	'biting' or 'eating'
/ʕz/	/taʕz/	'(exaggerated) praise'	/rn/	/forn/	'oven'
/mt/	/zaʕmt/	'swallowing'	/rw/	/farw/	'fur'
/mk/	/ramk/	'restlessness'	/ry/	/fary/	'(small) hole'
/ms/	/ʕams/	'blinding'	/wy/	/daʕwy/	'shining'

TABLE XXIV

Medial Consonant Clusters: -C₁C₂C₃-

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/tfk/	/lutfkqm/	'your (pl.) gentility'	/ʒdh/	/baʒdhom/	'after them'
/tfh/	/kitfhi/	'her shoulder'	/ʒgl/	/yiʒglow/	'they believe'
/tfl/	/yitflu/	'he spits it (m.)'	/msk/	/yimsku/	'holds it (m.)'
/tsh/	/ʒatsha/	'her cough (f.)'	/mhh/	/gamhhom/	'their wheat'
/tʃk/	/batʃkqm/	'your calf (of the water-buffalo)'	/mdg/	/yumdggow/	'they chew'
/tzk/	/ratzkqm/	'your (pl.) trotting'	/ntr/	/yuntru/	'throws it (m.) away'
/ktm/	/yiktmow/	'they keep (a secret)'	/nsl/	/yunsly/	'pulls it (m.)'
/ktl/	/yiktlak/	'he gives you (m.s.) (a beating)'	/nʃr/	/yunsrɔw/	'they saw (wood)'
/ksr/	/niksru/	'I break it (m.)'	/nxl/	/yunxlu/	'sifts it (m.)'
/ftl/	/wagaftlu/	'I stood for him'	/ndk/	/ʒindkom/	'with you (pl.)'
/fsh/	/nafshi/	'herself'	/ndh/	/ʒindhom/	'with them'
/fsl/	/nifslu/	'I fire him'	/ndr/	/yundrɔw/	'they sacrifice'
/fʃt/	/ʒafʃtu/	'his intestines'	/ngl/	/yingle/	'copies it (m.)'
/fʃl/	/nifʃlow/	'we spoil (a business)'	/nzhi/	/ʒanzhi/	'her goat'
/fzr/	/nufzru/	'I infuriate him'	/ltx/	/yultxɔw/	'they brush (somebody) aside'
/fjx/	/nufjxow/	'we idle'	/lkm/	/yilkmu/	'makes him feel full (speaking of food)'
/stl/	/yistlu:ni/	'they tempt us (literally: they dope us)'	/lfz/	/yulfzɔ/	'says it (m.)'
/sgr/	/yisgrow/	'they keep looking'	/lbd/	/yilbdow/	'they stay'
/ʃtm/	/niʃtmu/	'I insult him'	/ldm/	/yuldmow/	'they become friends'
/ʃkl/	/yiʃklow/	'they write Arabic diachritics'	/lgf/	/yulgfɔ:ha/	'they catch it (f.)'
/xtm/	/nixtmu/	'I stamp it (m.)'	/lgm/	/yulgmɔ/	'swallows it (m.)'
/hʃr/	/yuhʃrɔw/	'they survey (property)'	/wsl/	/yiwslɔ/	'shows kindness to him'
/hʃk/	/yihʃkow/	'they squeeze'	/wgf/	/yiwgfɔ/	'stops him (from work)'
/hʃr/	/yuhʃrɔw/	'they defame'	/wzn/	/yiwznu/	'weighs it (m.)'
/hʃr/	/yuhʃrɔw/	'they waste (property)'	/rtl/	/yurtlu/	'pours water on it (m.)'
/hʃr/	/yuhʃrɔw/	'they waste (property)'	/rkt/	/birktu/	'his pond'
/hjr/	/yuhjrak/	'deserts you'	/rkz/	/nirkzow/	'we stay'
/hml/	/yihmlow/	'they neglect'	/rfs/	/yurfɔ/	'kicks him'
/btl/	/jibtlu/	'I brought for him'	/rbt/	/yurbtu/	'ties it (m.)'
/bdr/	/yubdrɔw/	'they sow (seeds)'	/rdh/	/ʒardha/	'her land'
/gsm/	/nigsmow/	'we divide'	/rdm/	/yirdmow/	'they hail dust'
/zkr/	/yuzkrɔw/	'they mention'	/rgt/	/ʒirgtu/	'his group'
/gsl/	/yigslow/	'they wash'	/rgl/	/yirglow/	'they run slowly'
/ʃkm/	/yuʃkmow/	'they arrest or hold'	/rgl/	/yirglu:k/	'they give you a good beating'
/ʃfs/	/yuʃfsɔw/	'they tread upon'	/rmh/	/barmhom/	'their wandering'
/ʃsr/	/yuʃsrɔw/	'they squash'			
/ʒdk/	/baʒdkom/	'after you (pl.)'			